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# The mistress has to flatter the maid these days

In the days when adventure ballads were still being sung in the kitchen domestic servants were a common thing. Today of ten million working women only about 400,000 are in domestic service, that is to say about 4 per cent.

In 1882 almost half the number of working women were in household employment. Nowadays at the labour exchange in a big city people applying for domestic service can reckon on a choice of around 200 posts.

Those wishing to employ a maid must be prepared to open their purses and their minds. Imagination is necessary when wording advertisements. For example: "We are a modern, happy family and are looking for domestic help from someone who is just as cheerful as us. Age immaterial. Household equipment and other labour saving devices are on hand. We have a large garden, will put our car at your disposal, offer you a comfortable room with bath, regular working hours and wages well above the recommended level. If you should so wish you will be accepted as a member of the family."

Despite fawning attitudes most prospective domestic servants smile, wryly fold up their newspaper and go and clock in at the factory.

This is despite the fact that no other profession offers an unskilled worker the possibility to earn more than 800 Marks per month.

The decline of this profession corresponds to the rise in status of the people who used to fill the posts from the lowest position on the social scale to a status symbol which is becoming more and more important. There are vacancies today for 3 million domestic servants in the Federal Republic.

The severity of this need is, of course, reduced by the great number of household gadgets on the market which are within the budget of even the most modest household in this country.

*Nevertheless there must be someone in* a large household to operate these labour saving devices and plan and manage the cleaning and tidying of the house and its furnishings.

At first it was thought that the lack of domestic servants could be solved by what is described in formal terms as "well directed measures".

It was discovered for example that working hours were too long. These were then reduced to 45 hours per week. Wages were too low. At present a domestic servant aged over 18 knowing how to cook can earn a gross 470 Marks per month. With very few exceptions no employers stick to this figure. They all pay more.

In many cases a status as member of the family is recommended. But the woman who formulated the above cited advertisement was well advised to say "member of the family if desired". The term "member of the family" has long since lost much of its appeal and is now looked upon as a relic of an interval period.

Despite all attempts to make household employment more attractive the profession remains unappealing. The main barrier is still the question of lack of prestige at a time when the whole world is seeking emacipation.

Added to this there is the great subconscious desire in the modern world for the maximum of indefpendence. A housemaid wants to be able to lead her own life. She does not want the private sphere to be controlled by the lord of the manor. She does not want rules imposed about visitors. For this reason taking a room in her employer's residence, even if it is furnished with a colour television set, is not attractive.

The lack of domestic servants is a symbol of social change and the spread of democracy. Whatever is done to brighten up the job employment in the patriarchal atmosphere of a large house has no attraction for the modern woman.

In future it seems that the housemaid with a 5-day-week and flat of her own will be the usual thing. Another possibility is the "daily help". Otherwise there are large house-cleaning organisations which are highly mechanised. But all these solutions are comparatively expensive. (WELT DER ARBEIT, 17 October 1969)



## The beauty of beer mugs

**A three-man jury makes the vital decisions at the final of a competition for the most beautiful beer mug. Gusti Feldmeier casts a critical eye on a Bavarian 'Stehmasskrug' as Michl Lang (left) and Karl Spengler (right) look on.** (Photo: Hans Enzwieser)








# The German Tribune

Hamburg, 11 November 1969
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# No frills to Brandt's policy statement

DIE ZEIT
WOCHENZEITUNG
FÜR POLITIK, WIRTSCHAFT, HANDEL UND KULTUR

Disappointment is in store for anyone who hoped that Willy Brandt's policy statement would be the Federal Republic's version of President Kennedy's inaugural address with all its eloquence, fire and visionary power. Those expecting a practical working programmme were sooner satisfied.

Policy statements in the Federal Republic are not solo performances but coalition treaties that have been carefully worked out. The new Chancellor is never a political star bathing in his own light. It is an old tradition of the Social Democrats that they are satisfied only when everything is neatly put down on paper for them to keep. This is all the more true when coalition partners are concerned. Trust is all right — but having everything down in black and white is better.

The policy statement is carefully weighed up and it is directed towards all groups, especially the farmers who are promised time and time again aid and security. It could almost be thought that the SPD only grasped the full importance of agriculture when they entered the government. Not one important group was forgotten. Full consideration was paid to war victims, civil servants and even animals in need of care and protection.

Where there is unity between the coalition partners the points of the policy statement are as specific as possible. But vagueness creeps in where there is a difference of opinion or where the government wants room to manoeuvre such as in foreign policy. The policy statement of the new government thus follows normal practice.

The new programme does of course differ from the terse statement of intentions that Konrad Adenauer used to give and also from the great harmonious picture of the world outlined by Ludwig Erhard. Neither is it a precise list of tasks for a limited amount of time and a limited number of areas of the sort that Kurt Georg Kiesinger produced for the Grand Coalition.

In 1966 Kiesinger limited himself mainly to financial policy and the budget and foreign policy. Brandt's policy statement is business-like and at times exhausting in the detail of its plans. But two trends are worth mentioning. The first is the aim described by Brandt with the words, "We want to risk more democracy." The second is the attempt to bring about more planning.

Ludwig Erhard had an unfortunate partiality for social politics. He regarded democracy too much as a formed society. Kiesinger excluded social policies from his statement of intentions because of the vast difference of opinion between his party and his coalition partner. But this was not the only reason. He had no enthusiasm for them.

Because of Social Democrat tradition and his own particular inclination for social policies Brandt is far better prepared and has succeeded in breaking new ground.

They are of course some parts of the policy statement that still remain unclear. What does democratisation mean in the material sense when applied to universities and factories? What does a social state consist of? What does humanisation mean when applied to tax legislation, for instance, or educational planning?

Belligerent attitudes from the Christian Democrats show that this is one of the great ideological controversies of the decade. It is good that the policy statement is followed officially by discussion on the points contained in it. This presents the chance of binding the citizen more to the state — and Brandt has realised this. This is where the new style is most obvious.

As far as planning is concerned Adenauer always produced the best possible results from the chancellery process. Erhard was never a friend of planning and withdraw all too readily to the traditional liberal position of unhindered opposition of forces. Kiesinger talked a lot of planning.

But with the new formation of the Cabinet the new government has made a beginning in this field. The precise description of bills and reports leads to smoother, more ordered work. Government practice will show to what extent modern planning methods will be adopted. For the first time in a policy statement words like computer technique and educational technology were used.

It is striking that all foreign policy is summed up in a few short formulae — with Kiesinger foreign policy took up almost half of the policy statement. Though of course this does not mean that foreign policy will be treated perfunctorily by the new Cabinet. The new government seems to be following for the time being at least the old principal of CDU ex-minister Gerhard Schröder who believed that foreign policy was best kept at Cabinet level.

Foreign policy in practice will depend on the response of the East Bloc, including the German Democratic Republic, to the initiatives of the Federal government. There are distinct possibilities that far

*Continued on page 2*




(Cartoon: Felix Mussil/Frankfurter Rundschau)

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# New emphasis in policy towards the GDR

Federal Chancellor Brandt's government statement on foreign policy went further than any of the speeches on this subject made by his predecessors.

If people bear in mind the well-understood, long-term interests of this country and its people then they will not consider that Brandt went one inch too far.

Like the whole of the government statement the part dealing with foreign policymust be read particularly carefully. Many sections say far more than they appear to do at first glance. This is especially true of the most important and at the same time the most difficult problem, inter German relations.

The Chancellor put this subject right at the beginning of his speech before the reform programme for the Federal Republic and separated from the section on foreign policy which he concluded. He made it clear that in the end what has up till now been called the question of All-German policy can only be dealt with by a European peace conference. Chancellor Brandt underlined the policy his government which is to preserve the unity of the nation. He spoke of the common tasks and common responsibility and claimed most decisively the right of self-determination for the people in both parts of Germany.

"This right and the will to maintain it cannot be the subject of treaty negotiations," Brandt said.

It is only within this framework that we can see how Brandt and his government view the present situation in Federal Republic-German Democratic Republic relations. That is to say mutual renunciation of the use of threat of force, discussions aimed at settling by negotiation schemes for cooperation, twin states which do not consider each other foreign territory but have a relationship of a special kind.

In East Berlin whose central party paper *Neues Deutschland* is still demanding recognition in international law for the German Democratic Republic, this passage of Brandt's speech should lead to particularly careful consideration and this applies just as much to Moscow.

This is particularly so when one considers how Brandt's defence and foreign policies are unmistakably and credibly aimed at insuring peace as the essence of any intra-German relations.

Bonn will sign the non-proliferation treaty after the last few points of contention have been cleared up. In its policy for the development and reformation of the Bundeswehr in the future it will give a clearindication that the army is an instrument solely for preserving equilibrium and hence peace.

When delivering such a speech a man is justified in being very self-confident. The Chancellor was, and this confidence is particularly obvious when he is dealing with the Allies.

The voice of the Federal Republic which is indispensible in a peace-time Europe has now taken on a new and very convincing tone.

*Hans Gerlach*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 29 October 1969)

## HOME AFFAIRS

# New Bundestag livens up political scene

### EX-MINISTERS BECOME VERY VOCAL CRITICS

Handelsblatt

The Bundestag has again become lively. Genuine democrats can only greet this development with satisfaction. The government as a whole and individual members of it have given out reassurances that what they want is lively dialogue. They want to make the Bundestag what a parliament really should be. The balance of power within the Bundestag means that the new government can hardly avoid elevating the status of this country's leadership.

Government spokesmen during the debate on the new programme were right: in certain basic questions the opinions of the opposition party must be given consideration. The sixth legislative period should be marked by outstanding parliamentary vitality.

Even visually the scene in the Bundestag is completely different than before. On the day after Willy Brandt's statement of government policy, when it came to the first contentious vote, as many arms were raised on the Left-wing as on the Right. Only after a careful count was it possible to determine which side had won.

Undoubtedly this process will be repeated in future and will be time-consuming but at least it will show in a very obvious fashion that the new Bundestag is doing its job and preserving democracy. Now in Bundestag debates there are not only staged fights but serious differences of opinion between differing ideas and different personalities.

There are several changes in personnel and positions in the new Bundestag which are to be applauded. Franz Josef Strauss as a speaker on the opposition benches could very easily become a political force. Herbert Wehner as one of the leading spokesmen of the SPD-FDP coalition will not take second place to Strauss in originality and enthusiasm.

Members of the new government, as was shown clearly in the first major debate of this legislative period will always have to take a firm stand and will always be under pressure. Chancellor Brandt on the first day of the debate was often obliged to intervene. The days in which the government in the Bundestag could enjoy periods of relaxation are gone. Rainer Barzel, opposition leader, has called the Bundestag a forum for large-scale controversies. But has the sixth Bundestag become used to this role yet?

It seems at the moment as through the new government and opposition are dragging around behind them a lot of balast from the past weeks and months. In this two-day debate discussions often digressed from the programme of the new government to that of the old and talk centred on how justified or unjustified was the manner in which the new government set-up came into being.

It was obvious that the election campaign still after effects when the debate exploded on its first day and threatened to blockade any further debate. But the storm clouds passed over and on the second day the Bundestag seemed to have acquired a certain amount of inner control even with regard to the "Bayernkurier", the party journal of the CSU in Bavaria.

Two trends seem to have presented themselves clearly as a result of this two-day debate. In certain spheres the opposition will have a tough time offering alternatives whereas in other spheres basic differences of opinion are already clearly marked out. This is particularly true for those topics in which the new government has put a stronger accent on change as opposed to those where it will continue the old.

The outstanding example is of course inter German relations. Now that the "two nations" have become a subject of official talks the opposition fears a snowballing of recognitions for the German Democratic Republic by other countries, or the CDU/CSU can foresee a dark hour for All-German policy on the horizon.

The opposition is trying to cling to legalistic formulae. The government is hoping to find flexibility in the form of relaxation of tension in intra-German elations. If the government's intentions are made plainer and the opposition sticks to its previous point of view then a crisis could develop. This could take a form of a split caused by the basic questions of inner German policy.

It is difficult to foretell yet if this will come about. For a start the shape and aspect of the opposition is still largely unknown. In the debate it has been largely the men whose opinions and methods are well-known who have come forward. It was ex-ministers who voiced their opinions whereas parliamentary novices took a back seat.

All this can change very quickly and from this point of view the new Bundestag could claim a special interest.

*Heinz Murmann*

(Handelsblatt, 31 October 1969)

# Strong opposition party's value

### NO MIGHTY RUMPUS OVER REVALUATION

RHEIN-NECKAR-ZEITUNG

Now that the new government programme in Bonn has been made public the long awaited hour of opposition has struck. Have all the opportunities been used? All the tasks fulfilled? The contribution of a strong opposition is awaited with great expectations by the general public after the intermezzo of the Free Democrats' mini-opposition.

The spotlights were trained just as mercilessly on Kurt Georg Kiesinger, Franz Josef Strauss and Rainer Barzel as a few days before on Willy Brandt and Walter Scheel.

Once again people in the Federal Republic can look forward to fairly weighted discussion, cut and thrust debate and political excitements after years of comparative tedium.

It is desirable and necessary to provide a contrast to Willy Brandt's new policies. In the new Bundestag politicians are going to have to learn again how to carry on a heated debate. Up till now stale memories of yesterday's election campaign have set the atmosphere. Now is the time to start worrying about the nervous state of many a parliamentary gladiator. Members of the new Bundestag must find the correct way to get excited about the subject under discussion without their arguments turning into a verbal free for all.

As soon as these new techniques have been learned the opposition's controlling function will be put into operation and run smoothly. It will clear up points in the new course of Inter German Relations which are at present blurred. The Christian Democrat opposition will answer a lot of questions which are bothering members of the public.

Dialogues between the greatest brains of the opposition and Brandt or Scheel have shown clearly that on both sides there is true concern about the Federal Republic. The government wants to free itself at long last from the unsuccessful legalistic forumlae concerning the cohesion of the nation. The opposition fears that taking measures to recognise a second German nation will lead in the end to the one thing that no one wants — alienation.

Opposition members have wisely not lost their heads about revaluation. They fought a rearguard action for outposts which they had lost. But they have laid bear the weaknesses of a concept which plans to make the Federal Republic into a highly modernised nation within the next decade but they have kept quiet about how this can be paid for. Presumably after this initial hour of opposition they will not pursue subjects of debate which lead nowhere, particularly regarding the German Question.

Their attack on the oft-promised tax and social welfare gifts will be far more effectual. In this they are reproaching a policy in which the new govern ment starts its career with a generous hand out without making it perfectly clear that the citizen cannot have a modern nation without paying a price for it.

*Dieter von König*

(RHEIN-NECKAR-ZEITUNG, 30 October 1969)

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PUBLISHER:
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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF:
Eberhard Wagner

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# New emphasis in policy towards GDR

*Continued from page 1*

more will happen in this field than is contained in the policy statement.

It is no coincidence that the opposition is alarmed. It wants to put out warning signals and preserve the so-called legal positions. And the government will soon have to show its true colours in subjects such as of renunciation of force, the question of the Oder-Neisse Line or the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty.

Controversy is even more obvious in the field of economic policy. Brandt has consciously challenged the opposition on this point. And there are many Christian Democrats and Christian Socialists who are eager to take up the challenge.. The CDU/CSU doubtlessly wants to try and establish themselves once again as preservers of a stable economy. Even though they can hardly criticise individual points they will certainly question the reliability of the complete financial plan.

Both government and opposition have recognised that economic policy decides elections. The Union parties will stake everything on destroying the aura that Professor Karl Schiller, the SPD Minister of Economic Affairs, has created. The government will be trying to hold on to positions that they have gained and expand them if possible. It does not need prophetic talent to forecast that there will be many armed battles in this field with no quarter given.

There are other issues apart from economic policy where Brandt has done little to secure the goodwill of the opposition. He did show respect for Adenauer but Kiesinger was not mentioned once. The government has faced up to the opposition with self-assurance and without behaving with familiarity.

The SPD became great by using the words community and common possessions. But they are not included at all in the latest policy statement. They have drawn a strict dividing line between government and opposition, in much the same way as Adenauer did. But this is not necessarily to the detriment of the functioning of our democracy.

"This government's self-assurance will show itself to be tolerant," said Willy Brandt, "It will therefore be able to assess the amount of solidarity contained in criticism." There were not many sentences of such moral and political importance in the policy statement. This was an exemplary attempt to integrate adult citizens with the critical opposition. It is all the more regrettable that they were let down by the opposition who responded with shrieks of derision.

The policy statement is not a bold plan. The programme contains many pedantically exact details and is open to many interpretations. It is not the programme of Left-wing adventurers. The business-like list unmistakably contains a respectable programme for action. The will to govern can also be seen.

Adenauer pursued a successful policy from far more scanty statements of intention. Ludwig Erhard failed with his great view of the world. The programme of the new government in no way approaches a triumphant start à la Kennedy. But it holds out the prospect that good, sober policies will be developed.

*Rolf Zundel*

(DIE ZEIT, 31 October 1969)





## CENTREPIECE

# Brandt's government policy statement

### EXTRACTS FROM SPEECH MADE TO THE BUNDESTAG

We are resolved to uphold the security of the Federal Republic of Germany and the coherence of the German nation, to preserve peace and to co-operate in a European peace order, to extend the freedoms and prosperity of our people and to develop our country in such a way that its standing will be recognised and assured in the world of tomorrow. The policy of this Government will be one of continuity and of renewal...

This Government works on the assumption that the questions which have arisen for the German people out of the Second World War and from the national treachery committed by the Hitler regime can find their ultimate answers only in a European peace order. However, no one can dissuade us from our conviction that the Germans have a right to self-deter mination just as has any other nation.

The object of our practical political work in the years immediately ahead is to preserve the unity of the nation by decontracting the relationship between the two parts of Germany.

The Germans are one not only by reason of their language and their history with all its splendour and its misery; we are all at home in Germany. And we still have common tasks and a common responsibility: to ensure peace among us and in Europe.

Twenty years after the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany and of the GDR we must prevent any further alienation of the two parts of the German nation, *that is*, arrive at a regular modus vivendi and from there proceed to co-operation.

This is not just a German interest, for it is of importance also for peace in Europe and for East-West relations. Our own attitude and that of our friends towards the international relations of the GDR depend not least on the attitude of East Berlin itself. It is, by the way, not our intention to curtail the benefits derived by our compatriots from international trade and cultural exchanges.

The Federal Government will continue the policy initiated in December 1966 and again offers the Council of Ministers of the GDR negotiations at Government level without discrimination on either side, which should lead to contractually agreed co-operation. International recognition of the GDR by the Federal Republic is out of the question. Even if there exist two states in Germany, they are not foreign countries to each other; their relations with each other can only be of a special nature.

Following up the policy of its predecesor, the Federal Government declares that its readiness for binding agreements on the reciprocal renunciation of the use or threat of force applies equally with regard to the GDR.

The Federal Government will advise the USA, Britain, and France to continue energetically the talks begun with the Soviet Union on easing and improving the situation of Berlin. The status of the city of Berlin under the special responsibility of the Four Powers must remain untouched. This must not be a hindrance to seeking facilities for traffic within and to Berlin.

We shall continue to ensure the viability of Berlin. West Berlin must be placed in a position to assist in improving the political, economic and cultural relations between the two parts of Germany...

The foreign policy of this Federal Government follows up on the Peace Note of March 1966 and on the Policy Statement of December 1966. The policy laid down in those documents was at the time approved by all parties in the House. The will to continue and consistently develop that policy makes reiteration of it unnecessary.

The Federal Government intends to increase its co-operation in the United Nations and in other international organisations. The same applies to world-wide agreements on disarmament and arms limitations which are gaining in importance. In this respect the Federal Government will continue the policy which I, in the capacity of Foreign Minister, expounded on 3 September 1968 at the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States in Geneva.

We emphasise our fundamental readiness to have diplomatic relations with all states in the world that share our desire for peaceful co-operation.

The Federal Government rejects any form of discrimination, oppression and foreign rule which in our day again and again is jeopardising the peaceful co-existence of nations.

The North Atlantic Alliance which has proved its value in the twenty years of its existence will guarantee our security also in future. Its firm solidarity is the prerequisite of joint efforts to reach a relaxation of tensions in Europe...

For our security we need friends and allies, just as they need us and our contribution for theirs. Without mutual confidence in the political steadfastness of that recognition neither the Alliance nor security can be maintained. We will therefore continue the present policy within and towards the Alliance, and we expect this also of our allies and their contributions towards a joint security policy and the mutually agreed joint security efforts.

Just as the Western Alliance is defensive, our own contribution to it is defensive. Neither its training and structures nor its armaments and equipment make the Federal Armed Forces suited for an offensive strategy. The Federal Government will make clear beyond any doubt that its defence policy is based upon a defensive principle.

For the Federal Government the close ties between us and the United States of America permit of no doubt that the obligations will be honoured which the United States have assumed by treaty as well as out of conviction for Europe, the Federal Republic and West Berlin. Our common interests need neither additional assurances nor repeated declarations. They are strong enough to allow for more *independent German Policy within* a more active partnership.

Together with its Allies the Federal Government will consistently apply itself to the task of bringing about a reduction of the military confrontation in Europe. With them it will work for a simultaneous and balanced limitation of armaments and reduction of forces in East and West...

Special importance attaches to the forthcoming conference of the Six in The Hague. It may well decide on whether Europe will be taking a courageous step forward with respect to the interrelated subjects of the Community's international development, intensification and enlargement or whether it will get into a dangerous crisis. The peoples of Europe are waiting for and urging the statesmen to supplement the logic of history by the will for success.

Franco-German accord may be decisive in this respect. The Federal Government is prepared to lend the close contractual ties that steadfastness which should serve as a model of the type of relations which can today be established between European partners.

The enlargement of the European Community must come. The Community needs Great Britain as much as the other applicant countries. In the chorus of European voices the voice of Britain must not be missing, unless Europe wants to inflict harm on herself...

The Federal Government will promote the development of a closer political co-operation in Europe with the aim of evolving step by step a common attitude in international questions. We know that in this endeavour we are in particular agreement with Italy and the Benelux countries.

Our national interest does not permit us to stand between East and West. Our country needs co-operation and co-ordination with the West and understanding with the East.

The German people needs peace in the full sense of that word also with the peoples of the Soviet Union and all peoples of the European East. We are prepared to make an honest attempt at understanding, in order to help overcome the aftermath of the disaster brought on Europe by a criminal clique.

We do not habour false hopes: Interests, power constellations and social differences can neither be dissolved dialectically nor must they be obscured. And yet our partners for talks must also realise: The right to self-determination embodied in the *United Nations Charter applies also* to the German nation. This right and the will to defend it are not negotiable.

We are not deluding ourselves to believe that reconciliation will be eesy or quick to achieve. It is a process; but it is time now to push ahead that process.

In continuation of its predecessor's policy the Federal Government aims at equally binding agreements on the mutual renunciation of the use or threat of the use of force. Let me repeat: This readiness also applies as far as the GDR is concerned. And I wish to make as unmistakably clear that we are prepared to arrive with Czechoslovakia — our immediate neighbour — at arrangements which bridge the gulf of the past...

The Federal Government will make a number of short-term decisions which will make highlight its will to continue the hitherto prevailing policy in a steady and consistent manner:

1. At the conference in The Hague the Federal Government will use its influence to ensure that effective measures for intensifying and enlarging the Community and for strenghtening [illegible]
2. It will take up the offer by the United States of America to let German industrial potential participate in limited areas of space research.
3. It will take an active part in the work of the Committee set up by the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization for the challenges of modern society.
4. It will shortly answer the Soviet Aide-memoire on the subject of renunciation f the use of force, and suggest a date for negotiations in Moscow which have been suggested by the Soviet Union.
5. It will transmit to the government of the People's Republic of Poland a proposal concerning the beginning of talks, therby responding to the comments made by Vladislav Gomulka on 17 May 1969.
6. It will sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as soon as the clarifications requested by the last Federal Government have been obtained.

This Government will not toaday to anybody. It demands much, not only of others but also of itself. It sets concrete targets. These targets can only be attained if the citizen's attitude towards his state and government undergoes change.

In a democracy a government can only work successfully if it is supported by the democratic commitment of its citizens. We are as little in need of blind approval as our people is in need of pomp and high and mighty aloofness. We do not seek admirers; we need critical people to think with us, to decide with us and to take responsibility with us.

This Government's self-confidence will express itself as tolerance. Therefore, it will appreciate the solidarity that voices itself as criticism. We are not chosen, we are elected. That is why we seek the dialogue with everyone who has this democracy at heart...

(Photo: AP)

■ PROFILE

# Walter Scheel - a man of classical balance

Walter Scheel has now moved into the Foreign Ministry following in the footsteps of Konrad Adenauer, Heinrich von Brentano, Gerhard Schröder and Willy Brandt. That is the price demanded by the Free Democrats for their participation in the government, a fact that has been known for moths.

Walter Scheel knows that his future performance as a minister will be observed critically, very critically by many. Perhaps that is why he has decided to make no changes in the line-up of state secretaries at his disposal, Georg Ferdinand Duckwitz and Günther Harkort are two excellent experts and will stand at his side.

It has surprised many people in Bonn that Scheel selected a professor of sociology, Ralf Dahrendorf, as parliamentary state secretary. But news has gone around that Dahrendorf's work in the Foreign Office will be limited to culture policy, technology and peace policy.

Walter Scheel is not everybody's friend but he has no enemies. He has a cheerful nature, he is natural, serene and full of good humour. Scheel has never acted like an Atlas bearing the fate of the world on his shoulders. He is no thoroughbred politician driven on by passion and striving for power. He is a man full of charm and self-assurance stemming from the fact that he knows that he would not be averse to a calm, civilised, enjoyable private life if insurmountable political obstacles were placed before him.

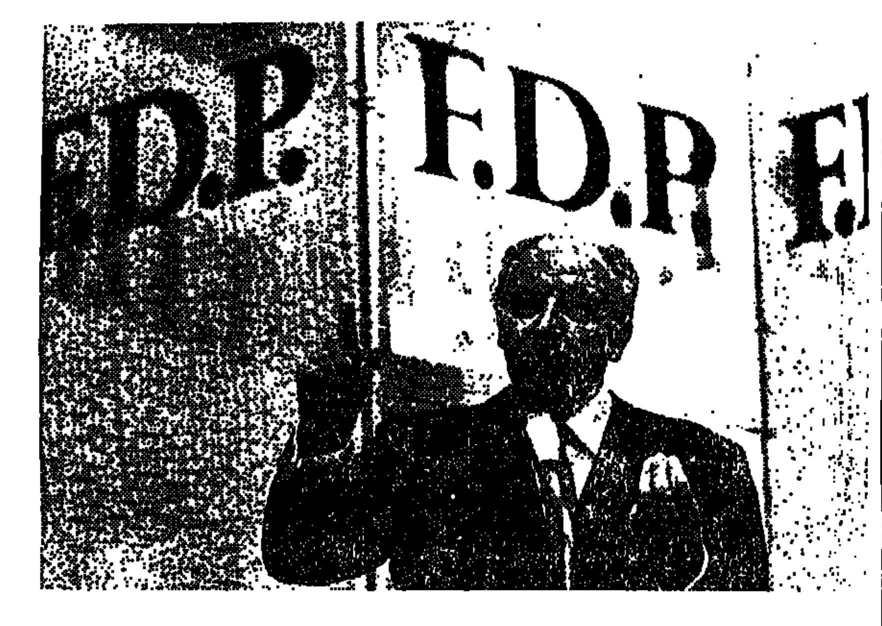
He was a night-fighter pilot in the war but survived. He is a man who always falls on his feet. When asked once now he managed to survive all the crises of his party, he replied in a self-mocking tone, "I am the Mikoyan of the FDP."

But is he a fighter? Many people have doubted this and their doubts were strengthened in 1967 when Scheel yielded to Erich Mende in the struggle for party leadership. We asked the new Foreign Minister if he was basically lacking ambition. "As far as may own person is concerned, yes," he replied, "But I have ambition in my field."

We confronted him with the reminder that a lot of people did not consider him a fighter. "That's not true," he said, "I'm not a fighter pure and simple. I'm not the sort of man who goes out with his fists flying. But I have never given up a struggle."

Why then did he not allow himself to be put forward as a candidate for the party leadership at the 1967 party congress? Walter Scheel gave a characteristic, open answer. "I had made no long-term plans for the whole operation. Actually Woflgang Döring should have become Mende's successor some time earlier. Then it transpired that I was to do what he wanted to do. That came as a surprise. Carefully examining the situation I saw that there was nobody in the party apart from me who could do it. I therefore had to do it."

We were bound to ask to question of what moves such a man to enter politics, a 27-year-old son of a workman, a merchant banker who had just returned from the war as a first lieutenant in the Luftwaffe. Again Scheel gave a frank reply. "Chance," he said, "I was in Solingen working in the economic associations of the metal and steel industry. I was fascinated by the tasks involved in the creation of a liberal economic system. I was a strong champion of a liberal economic system and against the socialist version. At that time these questions went into the political field and I followed."




A wheelwright's son from the protestant town of Solingen, Walter Scheel joined the FDP in 1946. In 1948 he became a councillor in his home town and in 1950 a member of the Provincial Assembly of North Rhine-Westphalia.

Was he a National Liberal or a freethinker, we asked. "Neither the one nor the other. I was, and still am, a liberal typical of this area, an individualist. I am a politician of the centre."

In this context Walter Scheel stressed that he owed a lot to Middelhauve who was then the leader of the state's FDP. "He had the gift of attracting young men, me included, to the party and to politics."

What does Scheel consider most important? "The harmony between conviction and political action. I do nothing that I am not convinced about. And I do not speak of matters that I have not understood."

The Benjamin of the Düsseldorf Young Turks who toppled the CDU Prime Minister Karl Arnold in 1966 celebrated his fiftieth birthday this year. His curly hair has receded modestly to the side. Life has not treated Scheel very well. This man, a champion of the Alpine air in Hinterthal in the Pinzgau area and a lover of French cuisine and modern art, lost his first wife. He was forced to have two operations on his renal stones. Then came the depressing election defeat. But Scheel always pulled himself together again and his face is still unwrinkled.

What do his party colleagues say of him? On Scheel's fiftieth birthday the parliamentary leader of the FDP, Wolfgang Mischnick said, "Teamwork, conviction and a critical distance to things, founded in self-assurance— that is the political style introduced into Bonn by Walter Scheel the Bundestag member."

Thomas Dehler, who once suggested Scheel as Mende's succesor, said, "Scheel has a great intellect, a lot of economic experience and the ability to formulate his ideas. He has a gift of saying the truth in such a way that it does not hurt yet is said."

But Reinhold Maier, the grand old man of the Free Democrats, thought at that time that Scheel lacked the format, the substance and the personal qualities needed by an endangered party in a difficult situation.

The man whose flat in Düsseldorf served as a meeting-place for the conspirators of Arnold's fall in 1956 and who resigned in 1966 his post as Federal Minister of Development, forcing his party colleagues to do the same, now faces his decisive test as both Foreign Minister and party leader.

The time of night flights and trips into the unknown is over. The main concern for Scheel the Foreign Minister is this country's security, for Scheel the party leader the existence of the FDP. Neither the one task nor the other can be overcome by a man of classical balance, as Scheel once characterised himself.

(Photo: dpa) (DIE WELT, 15 October 1969)

# FDP starts off on a tough road

FDP leader Walter Scheel prophesied in Dortmund that his party would be on a difficult road for the next few years. He also stressed that in spite of losses in the Federal elections his party had suffered no loss of self-assurance. It was truer to say that its self-assurance had been strengthened.

At a municipal party congress Scheel promised that all the FDP politicians who had become members of the government would pursue with all their strength a straightforward policy with the future in mind so that the FDP would receive fresh impetus. Scheel said that the FDP's main concern was to convince people with their performance so that in four years time the party would be stronger and exert more influence.

Next year's election for the Provincial Assembly of North Rhine-Westphalia would have a decisive effect on the success of the new Federal government, Scheel continued. The result would show how vigorously the Federal Government could continue to work.

In his first public speech as Foreign Minister Scheel said, "This government does not intend to let itself be outdone by anybody in the pursuance of the national interests of the whole population." The Federal government will do more for peace research and planning, he continued, and use its economic potential in the international exchange of technological experience, in the promotion of a liberal system of world trade and the balancing of revenue between the northern and southern hemispheres.

The leader of the FDP in North Rhine-Westphalia, Willi Weyer, assured that the FDP would be more than just an appendix of the SPD. He sharply attacked CDU leader Kurt Georg Kiesinger for wanting to throw the FDP out of all the various parliaments in the Federal Republic.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 27 October 1969)

# Herbert Weichmann takes the lead in Bundesrat

NOT EXPECTED TO PLAY A CONFORMIST ROLE

With the pleasant modesty that is the hallmark of a free man and evolved authority the Bundesrat, the upper house of the Federal Republic, took stock of its position.

With the dignified propriety that the Bundestag has presented to the public for the last twenty years, Professor Herbert Weichmann, a Social Democrat from Hamburg, employed his Hanseatic reserve to give an objective picture of the body that represents the Federal states.

Hamburg's Mayor cautiously examined the new political set-up in which the Federal government will have to rely more than ever before on the legislative loyalty of the Federal states. Willy Brandt's government, the first consisting of Social and Free Democrats, must reckon with a strong CDU/CSU opposition in the Bundestag and have their legislative intentions passed by a Bundesrat where the Federal states controlled by the CDU and CSU have numerical superiority.




Conscious that his anniversary address was for all the Federal states including Berlin, Herbert Weichmann steered clear of sensational warnings that the Bundestag senior William Borm, a Free Democrat from Berlin, could indulge in at the opening session of the sixth Bundestag.

For the first time the ruling Bundesrat President did not complain about the lack of publicity for his legislative organ. Because the Bundesrat was underestimated by large sections of the public Weichmann concluded that the upper house was removed from the danger of changing its function because of its consideration of the alleged vox populi.

As the decisions made by the Bundesrat did not have to find direct favour with the public Weichmann did not take up a pedantic attitude towards the neighbouring Bundestag, the people's assemply. Yet he reminded his listeners with a certain amount of self-confidence that the Bundesrat in the past had never acted as an aide-de-camp to parties in the government or in opposition. The present Bundesrat, he continued, could not be expected to play a conformist role in the political sense.

This is a clear warning to the four parties represented in the Bundestag. It should prevent political manipulation by the parties and stop the Federal Republic falling into the old ways of the Weimar Republic when, according to Weichmann, the parties' hate and their demagogic action caused the downfall of the parties themselves, parliamentarianism and finally the deomocratic state. This unambiguous entry in the records of the sixth Bundestag should suffice for some time.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 25 October 1969)



■ POLITICS

# SPD is where Wehner wanted them to be

DETERMINATION TO MAKE OPPOSITION UNCOMFORTABLE

Frankfurter Rundschau
Unabhängige Tageszeitung

Herbert Wehner, the former Minister of All-German Affaires, has been elected parliamentary leader of the Social Democrats (SPD). With 197 of the 218 votes cast for him Wehner did far better than party forecasts had estimated.

The result shows some of the esteem in which the deputy party leader and trusted democrat is held and not only by the 224 SPD members and the 13 from Berlin.

Wehner, 63, surely expected no gratitude at that time. He is too much of a thoroughbred politician to have expected this and has suffered too many knocks for other people in his lifetime. But he will have felt some satifaction. Those sceptics who believed that his aims had failed or changed since the mésalliance with the Union parties are now refuted, the writer of this article and his newspaper among them. Wehner kept the promises he made his friends and party at the end of 1966. He has not allowed himself to be led astray by changes of mood.

The SPD has now reached the position where Herbert Wehner tried to steer them with his indefatigable performance, not shunning the smallest of tasks. But Wehner decided to decline the honour of becoming a minister. He preferred to roll his sleeves up and work where he was needed most urgently.

The fact that some people ask in puzzled tones why Wehner was treated so badly when Willy Brandt formed his government shows that this country has the wrong picture of authority in the Federal Republic, a picture that is contrary to Basic Law, a picture that places a Federal Minister higher than the leader of the parliamentary party who, according to Basic Law, has to determine his party's policy. This constitutional point was manipulated by Konrad Adenauer and the Union parties and to correct it the Bundestag needs Herbert Wehner far mor urgently than the new government does.

Somewhat more coarsely it could be said that Herbert Wehner, Dresden born, is a typically Saxon type, as described by novelist Dieter Wildt. "A Saxon's curiosity ends when he can see how things are going to proceed. He likes to leave perfection to others."

Spotlight is now on Willy Brandt whose job it is to make everything a going concern. But Herbert Wehner still has the reins. Even though a Saxon is a born deputy according to Wildt he will never shy away from an important task that he has set himself— this is true in Wehner's case anyway.

The new Chancellor and his liberal co-pilot Walter Scheel doubtlessly appreciate the fact that Wehner is available for parliamentary work. The stability of the Brandt-Scheel cabinet depends on wafer-thin majorities in the Bundestag. The new SPD parliamentary leader is just the man required for the job, a man of determination and zest to work. Nobody knows that better than Willy Brandt. After he had been elected Chancellor he broke his usual reserve to embrace his comrade in arms.

Historians and biographers should not lose sight of this scene if they want to do justice to Wehner in future. There is also another scene that it is important for them to remember.



Herbert Wehner
(Photo: Archiv/SPD-Pressestelle Hamburg)

Even though no one had disputed his right to sit on the front bench Wehner sat until his election in the second row. This is a triviality— but a triviality characteristic of Wehner's unterstanding of democracy and the style that the frequently irritable and impatient politician can show when it comes to the test.

This cannot be said of Kurt Georg Kiesinger and Franz Josef Strauss in the first historic hour of the sixth Bundestag. Wehner and Brandt did the right thing forcing the two leaders of the Union parties into opposition to give them some time for consideration. They will also see to it that Kiesinger and Strauss will not be able to make themselves too comfortable.

*Eghard Mörbitz*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 23 October 1969)

# Wehner versus Barzel in Bundestag

Clashes between government and opposition should be harder in the sixth Bundestag than ever before. Their form will be stamped in the main by two men who will be feuding with each other on the floor but will also have to cooperate in practice, Herbert Wehner, the new leader of the parliamentary SPD, and Rainer Barzel, his opposite number in the CDU/CSU, retaining a position he held in the last Bundestag.

It shows what value Willy Brandt attaches to the post that Herbert Wehner left the cabinet to take up his new duty. Wehner's initial task is to keep tight control on the 237 Social Democrat members. With the government's narrow majority any idling could cause a crisis.

Herbert Wehner will also be the man who leads diversionary attacks on the opposition on behalf of the government on the floor of the Bundestag. He is the ideal man for this. He is firmly convinced of his political principles, asks no quarter and gives none and is always on top rhetorical form.

Rainer Barzel is a man who needs a strong challenge if he is not to branch out into meaningless phrases. An antagonist like Wehner is a blessing to him as all his political talent will be required.

Numerous false starts in the political sphere in the last few years have made Barzel more cunning. He now administers his office with prudence and aptitude. When Kurt Georg Kiesinger said that he was of course going to be party leader even though he did not want to be his party's parliamentary leader he could have been making a premature judgement. There is no doubt in Bonn that the Barzel-Strauss duo will soon push him into the background.

After their duels of words on the floor Barzel and Wehner will have to sit a lot at the same table if the Bundestag is to function smoothly. The narrow majority demands a system similar to pairing in the British House of Commons. When a government member, even a minister, is unable to attend Parliament because of other business a member of the opposition also stays aways so that that majority is retained. If on the other hand the opposition wants to force a division it announces it at a previous occasion so that the government can summon all its members.

Only then can the legislative machinery run smoothly. Otherwise the only way out for the governing parties in critical situations is to take power into their own hands and remove the Bundestag's power of decision. This function obviously makes enormous claims on the two parliamentary leaders, not only on their tactical skill but aslo on their sense of fairness.

The third of these campaigners will be Wolfgang Mischnick of the FDP, leading his small band of 31 members. Mischnick's worries will concern primarily the right wing of the FDP who have little enthusiasm for the Socialist-Liberal coaliton. He will always have to exhort them to party loyalty as the next government crisis could be fatal for the FDP.

It would be logical for the coalition partners to agree to grant leaders of the parliamentary parties an allowance three times as high as those for ordinary members, thus putting them on a par with the President of the Bundestag as far as expenses are concerned. Their function may not be so representative as that of the Bundestag President but they are far more important politically.

(Handelsblatt, 17 October 1969)

# Bundestag's new make-up

Almost all critics were unanimous that the record of the fifth Bundestag was a respectable one. The question whether the sixth Bundestag will measure up to the last one cannot be answered for four years at least.

One factor has been recognised already. Parliamentary conditions now seem to be good, even better than in the previous Bundestag. Compared with its predecessor the sixth Bundestag is on average considerably younger, a little more academci and as far as can be seen more academic too. At the same time it is composed of more men, more civil servants and more people representing particular interests.

The youngest member of the new Bundestag is an assistant, Dieter Schulte of the CDU, who is 28. The oldest member is Free Democrat William Borm who is 73. The average age of the 518 members is 49, five years younger than that of the last Bundestag. When the various age groups are compared the rejuventation of the Bundestag is seen more clearly. Two members are under thirty in the present Bundestag. There was nobody as young as this in the last one.

The percentage of over-sixties has decreased from 21 to 14 per cent. The ages range between forty and fifty provides most members in he sixth Bundestag. Forty per cent of all politicians belong to this group. Previously it was only thirty per cent.

Length of service also shows the rejuvenation process. Almost a third of the members are new, 167 in all of whom 61 belong to the Christian Democrats, 16 to the Christian Socialists, 84 to the Social Democrats and six to the Free Democrats.

Of those who entered the Bundestag for the first time four years ago 122 are reamining. Those politicians who have been in the Bundestag for four years or less are now in the majority, providing well over half the 518 representatives. In the Bundestag there are now only 32 members who have been there since its formation in 1949.

With the rejuvenation of parliament the number of academics has risen. Most of the new members were educated at a university. More than half of all members are now academics.

With the rejuvenation of the Bundestag have been an increase in the number of representatives for whom politics is a profession, though not always the main profession. The time has long past when the Bundestag was a parliament of dignitaries who took their seats and did their duty merely incidentally.

The future belongs to professional politicans who can devote all their strength to political work. Politics has become a trade to be learnt. Many of the new members of the sixth Bundestag gained their seats after working as assistants or advisers in parties, ministries, unions or other organisations.

But very few politicians have stated for the purposes of the Bundestag's handbook and the list of candidates that their man profession was political. In view of the widespread demands for more clearness it is surprising that more and more members tend to conceal their profession or give a roundabout definition. There are more than fifty executives, 34 lawyers, 35 editors or journalists and twenty jurists and economists— all of which say little of the true nature of the member's job. An executive could be a powerful industrial leader or a small union functionary. Likewise a lawyer or jurist could be a trustee or a practising solicitor.

The only thing to be concluded from members' replies is that no fewer than 163 civil servants and local government employees are sitting in the sixth Bundestag, thus forming a third of the total. Little objection can be taken to this when it is considered that here legislature and executive work together.

Caution is advised when analysing the interest fronts in the new Bundestag. Approximately half the members belong to a trade union, but only a fraction of them, about forty, are union functionaries. Opposed to the employees and workers in the Bundestag are at least one hundred who belong to the estalbishment and middle classes. There are nineteen self-employed businessman, 49 leading executives, fifteen directors of associations of chambers of trade, fourteen retailers, chemists, hoteliers and eleven artisans.

How these opinion groups will crystallise will not be known until the sixth Bundestag starts on practical committee work and divisions.

*Günter Krems*

(Das Parlament, 25 October 1969)

## WORLD OPINION

# World reactions to change of government in Bonn

**The new Social Democrat-Free Democrat coalition government in Bonn has begun office with goodwill from this country's friends all over the world. Washington, Paris, London and Rome have welcomed the Brandt government, and the Kremlin has made friendly gestures. Asian governments want to know what Brandt's policy towards Peking will be. Below is a resume of world opinion.**

## Washington

Public opinion in Washington (in the narrower meaning of the term) and the United States sees three elements in the change of government from CDU/CSU to SPD/FDP, the political element, the historical and one that can be of importance to economic relations between the two countries.

As far as the historical element comes into the question it is stressed time and time again that this is the first time since 1930 that Social Democrats have taken over the government of their country. A large sector of public opinion in the United States welcomes this. It is taken as a clear sign of the internal recovery of German democracy that the National Democrats were unable to enter the Bundestag.

As far as the personality of the Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt is concerned, the political element will raise no difficulties. Unter the presidencies of Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson he was always a welcome and accepted friend of the West in his earlier positions of responsibility.

It is known in Washington that a Brandt-Scheel government will never lose sight of its great aim of maintaining a state of peace and that friendship between the Federal Republic and the United States will continue.

If problems do exist then they are in the very complicated economic sphere. After the Mark has a fixed rate of exchange, after the much discussed question of payments to the U.S. forces in the Federal Republic has finally been resolved and trade is on the basis of the true value of adjusted currencies any economic difficulties should easily be surmounted as the majority of Americans have confidence not only in Willy Brandt but also in the Minister of Economic Affairs, Professor Karl Schiller.

## Moscow

Moscow newspapers had two columns on "Willy Brandt– the new Chancellor of the Federal Republic". As well as the announcement of the election results the papers printed short biographies and articles from their correspondents on "The end of the Adenauer Era" and "From Kiesinger to Brandt".

Soviet newspapers and ministry functionaries still persist in their extremely cautious estimation of the intentions and chances of the new Federal Chancellor. In spite of Brandt's success in the first vote Moscow remains sceptical about the durability of the Mini-Coalition. Speaking of this Pravda did quote from the new Chancellor's first press conference in which he said that he could not imagine the coalition being split on any question in the next four years. This was the central point of all Soviet considerations and questions as Moscow wants to see the Federal government remain in power.

Nearly all newspapers reminded Willy Brandt and Walter Scheel of their statements during the election dampaign. Pravda quoted Brandt on the border issue, "one cannot give up what one has not got" and commented, "the future will show how far this realistic attitude is reflected in the programme and in the practice of the government in Bonn."

The first thing that Moscow expects is Bonn's signature on the Non-Proliferation Treaty that Willy Brandt has already proposed to a certain extent. The overriding opinion here in Moscow is that voters in the Federal Republic want alterations made.

## London

In the weeks preceding 28 September the British public took serious interest in the Federal elections. They focussed their interest most of all on the question whether Hitler's heirs, Adolf von Thadden and his men, would succeed in entering the Bundestag.

But when the day of the election came the new and bloody resumption of the troubles in Northern Ireland overshadowed the results.

Now the new coalition between Willy Brandt's Social Democrats and Walter Scheel's Free Democrats is again a topic of conversation. Judgement in political circles varies according to political conviction.

People are almost unanimous in only one point and that is the expectation that the foreign policy of the new coalition will probably mean the end of an era if Brandt and Scheel really do succeed in contributing to detente with Eastern Europe. Both politicians have frequently stated that this is their goal.

It would find favour with the British government's policy and also correspond to the hopes of the general public.

Expectations differ wildly in the economic sphere. Within the Labour government and also industry it is believed that the new men in Bonn will be more consolidated than their predecessors in their approach to the problems of the international monetary system, especially concerning rates of exchange and paper money issued by the International Monetary Fund.

These circles also realise that it is high time to curb inflation in the Federal Republic or repress it entirely by revaluing the Mark.

Conservative circles fear that the new government will compete more sharply with British exports in markets that preferred British goods. Advocates of Britain's entry into the Common Market, both Labour and Tory members, hope that Bonn will now pay more than lip-service to helping Britain join the EEC.

Opponents of British entry fear that in future British agriculture will have to subsidise the inefficient agriculture in France and finance the Federal Republic's butter which would lead to a rise in the cost of living in the United Kingdom.

## Rome

It would be no exaggeration to say that the whole of the Italian press sees advantages for Italy now that a coalition between Social and Free Democrats has taken over the functions of government in the Federal Republic.

Not only the left-wing newspapers, including communist publications, see in the political changes in the Federal Republic a chance for a general detente between East and West. The conservative press in the north that at first did not conceal its desire for a continuation of the Grand Coalition of Christian and Social Democrats and a victory of the CDU now makes favourable judgement of the mini-coalition even with regard to Italian interests.

Judgement is positive for both political and economic reasons. The SPD take-over of power is seen as a guarantee for an unmistakable anti-Fascist attitude which is a true need for most Italians, even conservative Italians.

Moreover people always greet anything that could contribute to inner-European detente– and the main stumbling block to this is commonly supposed to be the German problem.

In the efforts of the SPD to improve the social balance between employers and employees without extending worker participation Italians see a way to solve the serious social tensions that are shaking their country at the moment.

## Paris

French expectations of the new Federal government are marked by a mixture of hope and fear. Paris believes that Bonn will make further progress towards East and West– Willy Brandt's policies will be continued.

New diplomatic and economic talks with Moscow, Warsaw and East Berlin are expected and France greets this development. The inflexible positions defended by the CDU/CSU have long been considered here as an obstacle to European detente understanding and cooperation.

The fear has however been expressed that in its policy towards the East the Brandt-Scheel government could become a rival of France. The ghost of Rapallo, the possibility of direct agreement between Germany and Russia to Western Europe's cost has been recurrent fear for half a century within the walls of the French Foreign Office.

Similar fears are being expressed concerning a possible closening of relations between Bonn and London for a speedier discussions on the entry of the United Kingdom into the EEC.

## Eastern Europe

Many leading communist newspapers in Eastern Europe have commented on the new government formed by Willy Brandt.

Rude Pravo, the organ of the Czech Communist Party, welcomed the change of government as an important pre requisite for possible alterations in the policies of the Federal Republic. The Bonn correspondent of the newspaper stressed in his report that there were intersting and eminent politicians in the new government formed of parties that had won the confidence of the public because they had advocated a policy of peace and understanding and reconciliation with the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries.

The paper continued that it was in the interest of the Federal Republic itself that Brandt's government pursued a policy of peace. There is no doubt that every positive step in this direction will be met with a positive answer from socialist countries, the paper went on to say and added, "it is not necessary to tell Brandt what he must do to lead to reconciliation with the East." The only criterion for Brandt was deeds, stated Rude Pravo.

Warsaw has so far made favourable judgement on the new government in Bonn. A special point was made that the Ministry for Expellees and Refugees had been wound up and the Ministry of All-German Affairs had had its name changed.

Ion Gheorghe Maurer, the Rumanian Prime Minister sent a congratulatory telegram to Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt expressing the hope that there would be a deepening of relations between Rumania and the Federal Republic in the interest of the two States, peace and cooperation in Europe and the rest of the world.

## Asia

Main interest shown by Asian diplomatic circles in the new Bonn government is concentrated in future policy towards Eastern Europe and China, Bonn's attitude towards the Non-Proliferation Treaty and its relations with East Berlin.

Apart from the late Konrad Adenauer, the first Chancellor after the war, Willy Brandt is the only politician from the Federal Republic known in the wider political circles of East and South-East Asia. Primarily as governing Mayor of Berlin, but also as Foreign Minister, he became popular from New Delhi to Tokyo when speaking of his country's policies.

Many prominent Asian politicians consider him as a personal or political friend. On of these is Singapore's Prime Minister, Lee Kuan Yew, co-chairman with Willy Brandt at the Socialist International in London.

Willy Brandt has equally close and personal relations with Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Adam Malik, and Takeo Miki, the former Foreign Minister of Japan and now leader of the left-wing in the ruling liberal democratic party of Japan.

In these areas Brandt is considered to be a prototype of the international German politician. His courtesy, unconvential charm and linguistic, proficiency are praised.

For a Socialist politician Brandt has a conservative reputation. Yet it is generally accepted that under him the Federal Republic will depart from the uncompromisignly anti-communist course of previous conservative governments in Bonn.

One of the first questions asked by diplomats in Hongkong, Tokyo or Bangkok is Brandt's attitude towards Peking. Relations between the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union and their improvement receive priority so this sets certain limits right away to any flirtation with China.

Remembering statements by Brandt while he was still Foreign Minister it is considered probable that the Federal Republic will try to give its extensive, and growing, trade with China a firmer basis by establishing a Trade Mission in Peking.

Particular attention is being paid in Asia to the development in the relations between the two parts of Germany. It is considered that the Hallstein Doctrine is doomed to certain death.

(From: VORWÄRTS, DIE WELT, Süddeutsche Zeitung)



## THE WOMEN

# First Lady Rut Brandt - everywhere only friends

Rut Brandt belongs to that rare group of people who have no enemies and are popular with everyone they meet. Even people who are not fond of her husband, either for political or personal reasons, can find words of praise for her.

The adjective "charming" when used to describe her is not to be taken as vain flattery but as the most appropriate description of her radiant personality.

She is not particularly fond of entertaining but in the last ten years she has become accustomed to her social duties and has gained a lot of confidence in the company of strangers. One thing she still adamantly refuses to be involved in is public speaking. She also fights shy of interviews. Rut Brandt prefers pleasant, unforced conversation.

One very quickly makes contact with her, quicker than with her famous husband. Rut Brandt prides herself on a trim appearance and an excellent sense of taste, which makes her one of the best dressed women in this country. She wears a plain and rather sporty style of clothes. When in the mid-fifties she entered the Berlin Social scene in model clothes of haute couture many people whispered behind their hands: "And she calls herself a Social Democrat!"

Very quickly these party members came to realise that an elegant appearance is very good for publicity. In this Rut Brandt is very different from Jacqueline Onassis. Only in the later years in Berlin did she finally come to buy herself a mink coat. And she is still today rather reserved in her choice of jewellery.

More important than her wardrobe are her family and home. She takes a great pride in them. In Berlin she herself did a lot towards keeping house, including cooking.

In those days when asked what her husband's favourite meal was she replied: "Smoked meat with cabbage."

For more than ten years the Brandts lived in a row of houses near Schlachtensee, one of Berlin's lakes. Just like the other women there Rut Brandt shopped at the market and on Saturday afternoons she would wash the car.

First of all the Brandts drove a Volkswagen and then a Karman-Ghia which they won at the press ball and finally an Opel Rekord. For years she was the family's chauffeur. Then she says, "Willy took up driving but without great success. He gets too anxious that he could knock over a child playing in the streets."

In their years in Berlin they always kept the three lively children Peter, Lars and Matthias active. Peter and Lars were educated in a completely democratic way. Rut says: "My husband was very patient with them. He never hit them. But me, sometimes I could not stop myself whacking them, particularly Peter when he was very naughty."

Afterwards Rut Brandt always apologised for the children. Meantime Peter has left home and is studying in Berlin. Whenever his mother feels intuitively that he needs her she rushes there.

Rut Brandt's political influence is nil. Nor does she have any ambitions in this direction. She has absolutely no sense of power.

When Willy Brandt was presented with the difficult choice of returning to his homeland or staying in Norway just after the War, she said: "I can not advise you. You must make the decision yourself. If you go I will follow."

Rut Brandt says that she never interferes with his professional affairs. Of course she is interested in politics, but never discusses it in public.

True to her word she followed Willy Brandt to this country in the spring of 1947. In the autumn of the same year the two married. From that moment on Rut always willingly did whatever was necessary to help Willy in his career. She was with him in the difficult post-war years in Berlin.

In this time of Stalinistic politics and confusion she was often worried about her husband's safety. Her son Peter was born during the Blockade in the middle of a power cut.

It was not long before the Norwegian Rut became a true Berliner despite the trace of an accent.

When the time came for Willy Brandt to leave Berlin to become Foreign Minister his wife was very reluctant to say goodbye to her adoptive home town.

But in Bonn she quickly made new friends: Baroness Guttenberg and the wives of Conrad Ahlers, and Horst Ehmke.

In the villa on the Venusberg she introduced a degree of femininity. Rut Brandt accepts the fact that her husband is becoming more and more "eaten up" by politics.

She said recently: "I am glad for radio and television –otherwise my husband would never tell me anything. Sometimes I think he even dreams politics." But there was not a trace of irony or bitterness in her voice. She accepted the situation happily.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 23 October 1969)

**Chancellor Willy Brandt with Rut and their son Matthias**

(Photo: J.H. Darchinger)

# Katharina Focke - an unknown quickly making a name

**Katharina Focke** (Photo: AP)

A few days ago in Bonn there were still many people who did not know whether Katharina Focke wrote her name with a V or an F. Social Democrat Bundestag member Katharina Focke, Ph.D., 47, from Cologne South constituency, moved into her office in the Federal Chancellery as a Parliamentary State Secretary. This was the same office in which Herbert Blankenhorn once carried out of appointment of Foreign Minister under Konrad Adenauer.

After her lightening career in the midst of power Katharina Focke, after talks with Willy Brandt's Minister without Portfolio Horst Ehmke, is now to concern herself particularly with European policy, science, education and relationships between Federal states and the central government.

In the provincial assembly of North Rhine-Westphalia she was the SPD's expert on further education, and since 1961 executive secretary of the committee for the structure of European policy.

European policy is her hobby. It is, so to speak, an inheritance from her father, the publisher Ernst Friedländer, who was a very important figure in the golden years of the Adenauer era.

Katharina Focke comes from Bonn and lives in the Marienburg district of Cologne, where top people live, the diplomatic quarter and the millionaires district. She has been alone in a pleasant old villa since her husband died young after a short marriage. Her address is a further reminder of Konrad Adenauer: 34 Pferdmenge Strasse.

She continues to live there in the south of Cologne since the six-lane Cologne matorway helps her to get to her work faster than she could have done from Düsseldorf.

She has studied many subjects including economics, German, English, history, political science and law at the universities of Zürich, Oklahoma and Hamburg. She has been a journalist and a translator.

Katharina Focke is an intellectual with a rather sporty elegance, and served as a rather exotic example to the older SPD members in the Düsseldorf provincial assembly in 1966. She first joined the SPD in 1964 because she approved of their "more convincing European policy". She almost found a place on the party committee immediately but the older members objected to such quick promotion.

When the left-wing students started revolting Katharina Focke had to talk in plain and understanable language.

This woman from upper-middle-class Marienburg soon found the expression "dear comrades" slipping easily from her lips. She quickly and resolutely accustomed herself to the SPD's familiar form of address.

After three years in the provincial assembly she stood as a candidate for the Bundestag. Prospects did not seem too bright. Trade Unionist Benno Feckler had already turned down this 'thoroughly bourgeois' constituency, Cologne South in which the SPD in 1965 had only received 37.8 per cent of the vote as opposed to 48.9 per cent for the CDU,

Katharina Focke's election campaign enthalled an ever-increasing number of SPD helpers. Since June she has been having an information session every week at the Market. She published her own election campaign hand-out *Im Blickpunkt*. In one edition of this there appeared an article by Willy Brandt in which he stated that Katharina Focke was an absolutely essential candidate for Bonn. The two of them knew each other fleetingly from conferences on Europe.

Part of her election campaign was to do the rounds of pubs in working-class areas of Ehrenfeld in which she would stand at the bar and discuss politics. "This had a colossal effect," the new State Secretary said. Only in the final weeks before the election did she see a glimmer of hope that she would be successful.

The election result was a triumph for her. It was the greatest local growth rate for the SPD in North Rhine-Westphalia. Their share of the vote rose 10.2 per cent from 37.8 per cent to 48 per cent. The CDU's vote dropped from 48.9 to 39.6 per cent. The greatest prize for the victorious woman was the knowledge that she had culled 3,000 primary votes more and obviously from voters who had given their second vote to the FDP.

Even before Katharina Focke, the new-comer, could establish herself in the Bonn SPD group and move into her office she was in the government. She herself is astonished about this. She feels certain that North Rhine-Westphalia Prime Minister Heinz Kühn who would have made her a local government minister in 1970 and only let her go to Bonn reluctantly had a word with Willy Brandt which opened for ther the door to the Palais Schaumburg.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 24 October 1969)

## THINGS SEEN

# Modern art for sale in Cologne

Handelsblatt

Cologne's "Kunstmarkt" (art market) established itself with one fell swoop two years ago with its first presentation. This provided a genuine source of information which has been needed for a long time. It is no longer true to claim that the value of an object d'art should be regarded seperately from the price it fetches on the open market.

The price of a work has become an exact gauge of its value, excluding such factors as fashion trends, inflated and deflated prices and the correspondence between supply and demand on the art market.

The third Kunstmarkt does not differ substantially from those of the two previous years, as far as presentation and works on offer are concerned. Once again there is a good all round selection of respectable and commercially viable works. Few galleries have limited themselves to just four or five of their most well-known artists, which gives the impression that the exhibition is overflowing with pictures and other works with one work crowding out another.

A satisfactory solution was found by Munich's Heiner Friedrich Gallery and Düsseldorf's Konrad Fischer Gallery (exhibiting for the first time this year). Both of them take one artist for a centrepiece to what they have on show. Heiner Friedrich has selected a series of Warhol paintings of all sizes and Fischer has put three large-size wood and aluminium objects by Sol LeWitt on show.

Visitors can see a selection of sober and objective information pamphlets. These are in the form of ring-back books containing pictures and price lists for other artists.

One aspect of the 1967 and 1968 Kunstmarkt which had a bad influence on the overall image of the sales exhibition seems to have disappeared more or less. Obviously this show is not just a large collection of unwanted left-overs from the galleries' annual programme. It is far more a case of worthwhile saleable productions of renowned artists which have been especially selected for Cologne. Three collections of pronounced value are offered by the galleries Schmela, Der Spiegel and Zwirner.

The works that these galleries have put on exhibition are a fantastic collection of the big names in the art world – Arman, Fontana, Tapiès, Segal, Wasarély, Wesselmann, Louis and Warhol, which are in the 15,000 to 100,000 Mark price range.

This provides a documentary look at representative works for Cologne progressives. Financial viability and a legitimate striving for prestige go hand in hand here.

This year as before there is a large supply of works of small or medium value, all kinds of artistic objects and paintings priced below 10,000 Marks, providing the solid foundation of the art world in this country.

Up till the middle of the week it looked as if the graphic arts were not so much in demand as in previous years. Works of the pop era which in recent years have soared in popularity are still waiting in all the rooms of the gallery for purchasers.

Proof of the fact that the art purchasing public has become more selective



Beuys' Volkswagen bus with sledges at the Cologne Kunstmarkt

(Photo: Manfred Tischer)

and is no longer prepared to pay large prices for works simply because they have a name lies in the failure of many of Fontana's works to command a high price. Demands of between 27,000 and 55,000 Marks for his works have found little serious interest.

On average the price for the "Concetti" has doubled since last year's Cologne exhibition.

Of the more important works the ones to have been sold so far are the following: *An object by Beuys, composed of a table,* stool and wire which went for 50,000 Marks to the Kaiser Wilhelm Museum in Krefeld; two of the large 'plastics' made of stainless steel by Heerich (18,000 Marks); and a picture in nails by Uecker (12,000 Marks). These three came from the Schmala Gallery.

From Zwirner came a Klapheck, 20,000 Marks, and a group of objects in the 1,000 to 10,000 Mark price range.

The three pictures by Albers exhibited by the Müller Gallery from Stuttgart were offered at an unusually low price in Cologne, 17,500 Marks, and they have been sold. So has a sculpture picture by Lee Bontecou (40,000 Marks).

Federal Republic artists on whose behalf the gallery has exhibited (Pfahler, Quinte and Wintersberger) despite having

*Continued on page 9*

# Questions posed by avant garde film festivals

A few years ago it was still possible to get at least a fair idea of what non-commercial films were being produced from the film festivals at Oberhausen and Mannheim.

Nowadays, when films seem to be the preserve of cranks and eccentrics to an ever greater extent and are often a medium for attacking the established norms of society, this sort of speculation is no longer possible.

It was not merely by chance that much of the talk in Mannheim was concerned with problems of the industry. How is it possible to promote films which are not specifically designed to satisfy the demands of the cinema-going public and which attempt to give food for thought and throw new light on important topics? How can these non-commercial films be made into box-office successes?

How can they even be brought to the attention of those films lovers who are prepared to bear the burden of having to think about what they are viewing?

Bridging the gap between the private sphere of film production and the glare of the public eye demands financial means which are not available particularly for those young film producers who form the avant garde.

Even films officially commissioned by the controlling board of the Society of Young Federal Republic Film-makers are often restricted to private showings.

Of the films commissioned by this society in recent times six out of nine have not been put on general release since it was considered that they had very little commercial potential. They did not measure up to the public taste, (or perhaps pander to it).

In order to find a public for these "way out" films it is necessary to start a special circuit, which would give the films suitable advertising, without the customary accent on nude bodies and scenes of violence and sadism.

But where is the money to be found for this? Once again the tired old joke about how the theatre in this country receives 400 million Marks subsidy whereas the film world receives a mere four million has been dug up.

That a "different cinema" is on the way has been proved by the Mannheim festival. But in future the significance of the Mannheim and Oberhausen film festivals will rest on how far they can open their portals to innovators from abroad.

In 1969 both festivals had an unfortunate and largely unintentional parochial air about them. This was only underlined by the discussion groups, since the younger Federal Republic film-makers often emphasised the demands they made of these festivals.

Would it be correct to say that the Socialistic ideas of those who make such biased claims is hemmed in by national boundaries?

Those who set out to approach these films critically stumbled into an abyss of unbounded subjectivity making it difficult to "find oneself". In fact the same applied to everyone who was watching the films.

There was a vast difference between the silent, static "Kelek" of Werner Nekes and the noisy dynamism of Birgit and Wilhelm Hein's "Rohfilm". But a connecting link between these productions is not too difficult to find. They all cut themselves off from the viewer. They try to avoid communicating anything, and succeed.

Furthermore they question everything, including the man who made them and the audiences which view them.

Vlado Kristi has been doing this for years. He repeats the formula in his latest film "Capriccio Italien". He invents pictures and then lets them disintegrate by means of montage and camera shake. He destroys dialogue, which is abstruse to start with, by means of sound effects.

Cinema of the Absurd remains Cinema of the Absurd and Kristl remains Kristl, with his usual brand of humorous and amusing nihilism.

On the other hand in "Kontokorrent 6 493 738" Peter Staimmer produces an accumulation of atrocities from a gruesome, crippled world. This film even omits that certain abstract something with which many of these film-makers save their films from tastelessness or bitterness.

The one reality worth experiencing it seems is the beatnik world of hashish. This one-hour film had possibilities as a simple reduction to pictorial experiences. But its ideology is stunted, offering only escapism as an answer.

Werner Schroeter goes much further in his "Eika Katappa". He begins with striking scenes; a bloodstained face, a group of saints praying in a wood, Siegfried and Kriemhild in love and death.

At the beginning this is a powerful moving, ironic twisting of myths, full of tension as it hovers between reverence and triviality.

The mythological superstructure which still has a considerable influence on the lives of all of us, even if we do not notice it, is very much undermined by Schroeter.

The glorification of suffering and death such as is viewed with lustful pleasure on the opera stage and often in the cinema screen is linked up with war and accidental death.

But Schroeter harms his own reputation by overdoing opera parodies, particularly "La Traviata" and "Rigoletto".

He only manages to bring his film to an end after 144 minutes of overexertion.

Costard's "Unterdrückung der Frau" (Suppression of the Woman) was probably the most successful film at Mannheim, but it was certainly Schroeter's "Eika Katappa" which was still attracting attention and providing the topic of conversation days later.

In summary it can be said that Mannheim 1969, despite all the objections and flops, was the most important film festival of the year in the Federal Republic, even though this fact can be attributed to a certain amount of fortunate coincidence.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 16 October 1969)

## THINGS HEARD

# Contemporary music at Donaueschingen

Why are contemporary music festivals arranged? Donaueschingen, together with Darmstadt the most prominent platform for this country's musical avant-garde, has witnessed many stages in musical development in the years of its existence.

In the twenties it shocked middle-class citizens by being the workshop of New Objectivity. After the Second World War it became a centre for musicians in this country to catch up on the trends of the *twelve* years since Hitler came to power. Later it became the centre for new music from al over the world. What should Donaueschingen's role be today?

The Festival is limited to one weekend with two to four events. This demands a strict selection process on the part of the organisers. This seems to exclude the danger of the terrible incidental events seen in the mass show of the International Society for Modern Music and the long festivals at Warsaw, Zagreb and Venice.

But there are problems connected with this. In a bad year the limitation does not necessarily mean that anything interesting will be produced. A small number of works being performed for the first time can be as meagre and wearisome in the same way as a large number can be annoying and wearisome. And it is far easier for two concerts to fail than twenty. Furthermore even the most well-informed artistic direction – and the Donaueschingen Festival is arranged by the person traditionally the most conversant with modern music, the senior departmental director of the Southwest Broadcasting Service, Dr Heinrich Strobel – can sometimes reflect present trends wrongly or unfavourably. A director might approach the subject at times less from an objective musical consciousness as from his own indisputably personal taste which is reflected in certain directives connected with commissioning works.

Donaueschingen is, structurally, a festival which has something to offer the expert. People do indeed come from the towns of Strasbourg, Freiburg and Basel but the old princely town of Donaueschingen is so far off the beaten track in the Black Forest that everybody is one big family, an esoteric circle of avant-garde composers, representatives of broadcasting and publishing and musical critics. Care is taken of the public afterwards – results are passed on to them via radio broadcasts and press reports. But the concerts themselves do nothing to alter the state of withdrawal which is now the target of the avant-garde.

To reconsider the social premises of this sort of festival in future would perhaps be more important still than the pains taken to perform original works of quality. As an institution Donaueschingen could not remain untouched by this. The musical policy of the Southwest Broadcasting Service shows that those responsible are well aware of these problems and are considering what significant measures can be taken.

The number of works performed for the first time was particularly small this year. Two orchestral concerts sufficed. Perhaps the most significant performances were two new works by Mauricio Kagel, *Duo* and *Hallelujah*. Two works by leading composers in the first of the two orchestral concerts were being heard for the first time in this country. The one was Luciano Berio's *Sinfonia*. To the four movements played at the Royan Festival the composer has added a fifth which was played for the first time in Donaueschingen under the guidance of Ernst Bour. The Swingle Singers were accompanied by the Southwest Radio Orchestra in a performance that was intended to stress the purity of the music. It succeeded primarily in the third movement based on the scherzo of Mahler's Second Symphony. Its multitude of associations came out clearly while the singing and speaking parts of the Swingle Singers remained more discreetly in the background. The fulness of structural references – in this case to the first movements – is even greater in the final movement than in the variation on Mahler.

Pierre Boulez (right) and Wolfgang Fortner at Donaueschingen festival

(Photo: Grill)

The second work that had not been performed in this country was Pierre Boulez' latest work *Domaines* for clarinet (played by Walter Boeykens) and instruments. It represents an attack on open form and flexible performing conditions founded a little puritanically in the structure of the work, far different from those of Kagel, Schnebel or Cage, at least in the effect of the incomparably freer, theatrically fascinating forms.

The musical results are somewhat half-hearted though some of it has a fine chamber music character. Only in the best passages are we reminded of Boulez' period of serial technique. The work seems to be far more a resonance of past times than a signal light pointing towards the future and the many stimuli given by the title are not developed further. Boulez himself conducted.

In the second orchestral concert works by less well-known composers were to be heard. There was the first performance of a work from the Argentine, Hilda Dianda's musically interesting *Ludus I*. Even more charming in the alternation of fixed and graphically notated music was *Ixamatl* by the Mexican composer Manuel Enriquez.

The Rumanian Anatol Vieru has succeeded in realising an original conception in his *Sundial*. Above a very soft background can be heard quasi-concrete aural sensations, episodes with features of association and with titles such as "Crash and explosion", "Metal and iron", "Pins and needles" and "Street Traffic". An explosive trumpet solo has been worked into the musical texture to provide a third layer.

Alfred Schnittke, a Russian, limited himself in his *...Pianissimo...* to a soft score that continues on its own as if lost in daydreams. Towards the end it gives way to octaves and a fortissimo passage.

The four parts which would fit to a certain extent the designation *Music ...in felt-slippers* given by Vieru to his work show an all too uniform trend of the annual Donaueschingen sample of works. All last about fifteen minutes, all take great pains to have as little volume turbulence as possible and nearly all fit the usual concert framework in their orchestral composition and formal shape.

*Hans-Klaus Jungheinrich*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 October 1969)

*Continued from page 8*

their works offered at reasonable prices have not yet found a footing among collectors.

This particularly applies to Wintersberger who was honoured with the Grand Prix at the Paris Biennale and whose paintings are on offer at a very reasonable 3,000 Marks.

All the paintings and 'plastics' by Antes, put on show by Munich's Stangl Gallery, were sold for between 12,000 and 22,000 Marks to buyers in this country. Paintings by Poliakoff who died a few days ago, and Niki de Saint Phalle's Polyester-Nana have changed owners.

The Cologne Kunstmarkt this autumn gained for itself international significance as an exchange and barometer for art. Never before have so many foreign visitors been seen in Federal Republic galleries. Art experts and art lovers came from Britain, the United States, Italy, the Netherlands and France. It seems that at long last modern Federal Republic art such as presented in Cologne has finally forged vital connections on the international market.

The initiators of this new market for the arts which has room for growth are the Cologne art dealer Kümmel and bookseller Siebrasse. What has been created is a forum for art and artists who are not yet firmly established. In summary it could be said that the Cologne Kunstmarkt is yet another indication of the liberal atmosphere which pervades the modern art world in the Federal Republic and particularly in Cologne where the arts are thriving.

*Christian Herchenröder*

(Handelsblatt, 17 October 1969)

# Fatal change of identity

Wolfgang Bauer's new play *Change* shows a person who sets out to manipulate another and then finds out too late that he himself is being manipulated. The play had a very successful premiere in Vienna a few weeks ago and it has just had its premiere in this country at Hanover's Landestheater.

Wolfgang Bauer is 27 years old and from Graz. He likes to give his plays English titles. His spectacular one-act play performed last year and everybody's topic of conversation at that time was called *Magic Afternoon*.

In *Change* he employs an ironic alienation technique to depict figures and events of the Vienna Group which includes men of letters admired by him such as Konrad Bayer, Oswald Wiener, h.c. artmann and Gerhard Rühm.

Bauer's latest play deals with a change of identity that has fatal consequences. Fery, a rootless artist and poet, and a very suspicious art critic both want to build up Blasius Okopenko, a mechanic and amateur painter who has arrived from the provinces on a motor bike, into a sort of Lower Austrian Rousseau and then let him fall when he is at the summit of success so that his only way out is suicide.

But Blasius has a primitive vitality and soon sees through this macabre game. He willingly cooperates as long as it brings him advantages. But he really spoils the plans of the two presumptious friends. He steals Fery's fiancee and makes her pregnant, he seduces the girl's mother and marries her and finally puts Fery out of action by seeing that he has an argument with the police and ends up in hospital with a bullet in him. In the final exciting scene set in Blasius' elegant studio the host suggest that they change clothes and roles – hence the title – and Fery becomes a victim of his own plans and hangs himself.

This new play shocks as is the fashion and is at the same time extraordinarily amusing. Wolfgang Bauer give a critical and yet loving picture of the youth of today who protest in vain against the insignificance of their existence.

The characters are well delineated, their reactions are psychologically correct, dialogue and atmosphere tally right down to the smallest details and the action, dramatically dovetailed and with all the logical consequence of an ancient tragedy, is skilfully set in the present age. *Change* confirms what *Magic Afternoon* already hinted at. Bauer is on the way to becoming a latter-day Ödön von Horváth.

As a precaution the management of the Hanover theatre said that in their opinion *Change* was not suitable for minors under sixteen years of age.

Horst Zankl, a friend of Bauer, produced the play true to life and well-rounded, even though he sometimes went into too much detail. The main performers, Peter Parek, Wolfgang Krassnitzer and Christine Prober – the latter somewhat embarrassed, having to appear naked at one point in front of the audience – always stuck to the letter of their parts.

The Viennese dialect prescribed by the author was however exaggerated and it was often difficult for an audience from the north of the country – as this audience was – to understand the text.

Manfred Noky was responsible for the decor which was true to its milieu. The inadequate technique of the Hanover theatre did not stand up to the demands made on it. And the long intervals needed to change the scenery hold up the flow of the play.

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 22 October 1969)

■ EDUCATION

# Teaching research is only in its initial stages




At their conference in Bremen the Education Ministers of the Federal Republic should concentrate upon in the *next few years.*

The list stretches from learning aims and syllabuses at schools and universities to the development of objective methods for judging the performances of scholars and students. It also covers correspondence courses and the relationship between technical universities and other forms of higher education.

The Education Ministers' programme of priorities corrects the optimism of the pre-election period when programmes, models and laws were developed in a trice, resulting in the impression that educational reform could quickly be completed within the near future. The education ministers have made it clear that a thorough reform and educational planning is not possible unless fundamental scientific work is done first.

Educational research — which should now treat the topics mentioned by the Education Ministers — is still in its initial stages in the Federal Republic, not because researchers have no desire at all to explore the subject but because politicians recognised too late the urgency of the problems facing them.

Educational research should give politicians information about the causes of this distressing situation and suggest possible ways of solving it. But it has only just begun to sift through the problems facing it.

There are few institutes in this country dealing with educational research. There is the Educational Research Institute in Berlin, the National Institute for International Educational Research in Frankfurt and work groups in Heidelberg and Konstanz.

But the capacity of this small number of institutes is far from the size needed to solve the problems quickly and fundamentally. They can concentrate only on a few of the important points, empirical advances in the Federal Republic must proceed slowly and during the research projects assistants must be trained.

Research into educational syllabuses is not, as has often been thought, just one task which, when finished, will last for all time with equal validity. In a quickly changing highly industrialised society syllabi must be continually put under the microscope and altered. The same is valid for the development of criteria for performance or the research into the educational needs of a quickly changing society.

Until today initiatives in research into education in the Federal Republic has been left to a small number of men. There has been no central planning and coordination even though that is the only way that reform can be put energetically into practice.

Under these difficult conditions the work of the few institutes already existing deserves great recognition. But it will remain fragmentary as long as the Federal government and the Federal states do not take up these problems and deal with them more intensively.

The USA's comprehensive system of educational research could act as a model for the Federal Republic. In America basic research is done in Research and Development Centers, interdepartmental institutes whose research is usually limited to one particular field. These centres also develop reform models.

Parents and teachers are then told the results of the research by Regional Laboratories. In the Federal Republic only one body has carried out this function, the Education Centre in Berlin. Such centres should exist in every Federal state. Today the publication or non-publication of scientific works depends mainly on chance.

The Federal Republic has no equivalent to the United States' third institute of educational research, the Education Research Information Center. These centres are distributed all over the country and research findings as well as reports of how recommendations turn out in practice can always be consulted.

The beginnings of a system of educational research in the Federal Republic must be extended. A good point of departure is the university information system planned by the Volkswagen Foundation. It is planned to store in the new body data from all areas of education in the Federal Republic.

In the near future the recommendations of the Education Council must be put into practice. The Council said that large experimental institutes should be built and research into syllabus centralised at one institute. Only then could some of the most urgent demands of the educational ministers be put into practice.

Today education is still planned according to the "force of circumstance". Politicians often use this term when they see themselves forced to make a particular decision because of the state of affairs.

The failure of educational policy of this type is characterised by the introduction of the numerus clausus, under which only a fixed number of students are allowed to study certain subjects at university.

Educational research must be promoted far more persistently than it has been up till now and there must a central organisation. Otherwise we may soon be faced by a funeral pyre in all branches of the educational system.

(DIE WELT, 15 October 1969)



# Plans for university television in 1971

Bernhard Vogel, Education Minister in Rhineland-Palatinate, and Professor Karl Holzamer, director of this country's second television service, submitted suggestions for the organisation of a University Television Association in Mainz on 8 October.

They recommend the formation of a limited company in which the Federal government, the Federal states, universities, broadcasting services and large foundations should participate.

Apart from this it was proposed to set up a university institute and also build up a tutorial system to have expert control.

Annual costs for a thousand students in each of the subjects of chemistry, biology, physics and mathematics are reckoned to be just about 25 million Marks.

The first broadcasts will be transmitted in 1971.

(DIE WELT, 9 October 1969)

# Assistant lecturers confer on tactics

At the fourth full assembly in Bonn of the Assistant Lecturers' Conference, representing about 30,000 members in intermediate positions in the academic structure, the main issue was how to divide the load of organisational work in future between active practice and the working out of models and ideas for university policy.

Exhaustive discussions on the subject resulted in a declaration by members of the conference's old and new board that the development of ideas should not be given up. However the assistant lecturers did not want to be top of the class only as far as proposals went. Fundamental work should be emphasised as should action to try to get their ideas adopted.

An indication of this is the choice of the chairman. Tilman Westphalen, a lecturer in English at Bochum, was voted in by 56 votes to 48. He is the successor to Peter Fischer-Appelt, a lecturer in theology at Bonn and the conference's chairman since its formation in March 1968, even though he wanted to give up his office at the full assembly this spring.

Tilman Westpahlen was then voted in as his successor but resigned the chairmanship while the conference was still in session. Peter Fischer-Appelt said that he was willing to take over again but he made it clear that he would not be available for the whole year.

Westphalen was the representative of a group who favoured as a means of attaining assistant lecturers' demands a limited refusal to carry out functions that were not their duty but that they were normally burdened with. The full assembly passed a resolution planning to adopt this sort of strategy against the numerus clausus which the conference considers neither necessary nor permissible to counter the shortage of study places. If attempts are made to introduce further limits to the admission of students to universities the assistant lecturers will refuse to cooperate.

Westphalen said that the number of assistant lecturers ready for any risks had increased. This is connected with the growing up of a new generation of assistant lecturers who had already clashed with university authorities while still students.

Westphalen conceded that only a small number of present assistant lecturers would come into consideration for receiving the designation of "assisting professor" demanded by the conference for a new category of academic teacher.

This position would entitle its holder to time for teaching and research but it would not include auxiliary activities and helping out professors. The basic reason behind the demand for the establishment of this post is that the assistant lecturer today is involved in an insoluble conflict between his own intentions as to his future career and his teaching duties connected with his duty to support his professor. The university suffers from this conflict in so far as it does not receive a flow of teachers who have experience of individual research.

Assistant lecturers should be replaced by graduates with special scholarships and their nuber must be increased to a much higher level. The scholarships should be used exclusively for the further education of their recipients.

Discussion is still continuing on the question as to whether a new category of scientific employee should be created to take over the auxiliary duties previously carried out by assistant lecturers. Discussion of their duties is also still not at an end.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 October 1969)



■ MEDICINE

# Preventing deformity dicussed at Regensburg

In Alsdorf lawyers will have to reach judgement on whether and, if so, how the drug thalidomide causes deformity.

Medical men will argue about this for decades. At the 43rd Regensburg Medical Congress Gerhard Koch, a geneticist from Erlangen did not allow himself to be provoked into making a comment on the trial at Alsdorf.

All he did was quote the results from the investigations of his colleague, Widukind Lenz. According to these embryo damage caused specifically by the intake of thalidomide and resulting in deformity occurred in the sensitive period of a pregnancy between the 35th and the 50th day.

Gerhard Koch said that it was not his duty to judge whether twenty or over ninety per cent of mothers who took thalidomide at the critical period brought deformed children into the world. Past investigations had shown almost without a shadow of doubt that thalidomide causes deformity.

The exact scientific proof is lacking still because there is no chance of making suitable comparative studies. Statistics, both pre-war and post-war, are not sufficient in either number or standard.

Causes of deformity in children vary and can never be clearly delineated. As well as malformations caused by hereditary factors are those caused by a combination of inherited features and exterior factors. Bacterial and virus infections during pregnancy may be at the root of the matter here, as may chemical substances and certain drugs.

Another group consists of the chromosome diseases. The number or structure of the chromosomes, the bearers of inherited factors, deviate from the norm. Chromosomes can be seen under the microscope in certain human cellular material. It can therefore be seen satisfactorily whether many deformities are genetic or not.

Hans-Dietrich Pache, a paediatrician from Munich, told the congress about embryo damage caused by infectious diseases during pregnancy. The relatively rare congenital listeriosis reached the proportions of a minor epidemic in the Munich area in 1967. Listerii, the carriers of this disease, were the most common cause that year of the dangerous meningitis in newly born children at the Municipal Hospital in the Munich suburb of Harlaching.

Apart from congenital lues and toxoplasmosis the biggest problem today are deformities caused by rubella infections in the mother. In 1964 so many pregnant women fell victim to an epidemic in the United States that the number of children with typical damage is reckoned to be between ten and twenty thousand, two to three times as high as those deformed during the thalidomide catastrophe between 1959 and 1962.

Typical damage to the embryo caused by rubella infections includes cataracts, malformation of the heart, deafness in the inner ear, tooth damage, a skull that is too small as well as general underdevelopment that can be seen at birth.

More recent investigations show that there are also rarer diseases that can occur when the mother is taken ill outside of the sensitive period and during the middle stages of the pregnancy. One example is a chronic virus infection that does not start to cause damage until after the birth. It takes anything up to a year after the birth until the agents can be traced in the tissues and body liquids of the children concerned.

For every woman who has German measles or other rubella infections during pregnancy there is a real threat of having a deformed child. If the mother is taken ill during the first month of pregnancy there is a thirty per cent chance of her child being born deformed. In the second month it sinks to 25 per cent and in the third month to nine.

Abortions for psychiatric reasons are allowed only in very few cases. Hans-Dietrich Pache stressed therefore that the only hope was a rubella vaccine already available in Belgium and the United States. It will probably be ready here next year. Some people advocate that all girls of fourteen and fifteen should be vaccinated when they leave school or at some other convenient occasion. No serious side effects are known from rubella vaccinations.

Dr Pache quoted some shocking figures that underline the importance of prevention. Ninety per cent of all children with brain damage, 61 per cent of deaf children, 58 per cent of pupils at blind schools, fifty per cent of school-children with organic diseases of the heart and twenty per cent of all spastics are the way they are because of illnesses during pregnancy.

A lot of suffering could be prevented if the complaints could be diagnosed and treated early on. This is as true for congenital metabolic diseases such as phenylketoneuria as well as cleavage of lips and palate. In the one case serious mental trouble is avoided by introducing a special diet as soon as possible, in the other the surgeon can prevent speech deficiencies and facial defects by operating at the right time.

Deformed children and their parents can be helped in many ways today. People must only take advantage of all the opportunities, beginning with genetic advice and ending with surgical and orthopaedic care. Rehabilitation is still the greatest worry. The patient must become part of human society as soon as possible.

Apart from the purely personal help nothing can be done without money. Money must be available for research, diagnosis and therapeutic purposes. It was stressed many times in Regensburg that treatment of handicapped children could never be the best because of the overriding question of finance.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 22 October 1969)



**Improved X-ray techniques**

At the Tokyo international radiologists conference Siemens put on display their latest development, a television X-ray. The equipment is especially designed so that doctors can obtain sharp contrasts in the picture appearing on the screen by eliminating extraneous organs or bones. (Photo: Siemens)

# There is no such thing as a born murderer, say criminologists

At the beginning of October Saarbrücken was the venue of the fifteenth congress of the Federal Republic's Criminology Association, attended by criminologists, judges and lawyers from countries all over Europe and Asia.

Many topics were discussed but the main issue was the question whether crimes were committed under duress or as an act of free will, whether they were a consequence of guilt or fate.

A short while ago the public was roused by discussion on a murderer's chromosome. The secret is said to be in two tiny chromosomes determining the sex and inherited factors in humans. The female chromosome is XX and the male XY. It is supposed that the deviant XYY and XXY chromosomes lead to irregularities of aggressive behaviour in males.

Proof for this has been lacking up till now. Experiments carried out on prisoners showed that only one in fifty had the XYY combination. One in every five thousand newly born children has the XYY chromosome. In the Federal Rpublic there are about ten thousand males over the age of 21 who have this combination of chromosome.

If the theory of a special murderer's chromosome were correct many people in this country would have to be under lock and key because of capital crimes they had committed. Experts therefore conclude that chromosome combinations can have some bearing on criminal behaviour but that the decisive factor is environment.

Inherited factors and environment seem to be the most common impulse for sexual crimes amongst youth as well. G. Bauer of Wuppertal criminal investigation department examined thirty juvenile murderers. During the puberty of 23 of the cases something had gone wrong with psychological development, it had been neither recognised nor treated and eventually manifested itself in agression.

An increase in sexual knowledge will not protect these young people. Lack of sexual education plays no role in their sexual crimes. Bauer is of the opinion that there are not enough rehabilitation homes and advisory educational centres in the Federal Republic. The total number is only 400 and according to the standards set by the United Nations there should be at least 1,600.

At present Professor H. Göppinger is directing a group of lawyers, psychiatrists, psychologists, sociologists and social workers in a special experimental project in Tübingen. They are looking for typical patterns of crime composed of individual features. But the group is still cautious of speaking of the causes of a crime. At first the criminologists at Tübingen did little more than collect information and compared findings involving 200 prisoners and an equally large group of the general population.

An intermediate survey of this work was available at the congress in Saarbrücken. What was particularly noticeable in the group of prisoners was negligible family connections, a remarried mother (three times more common than in the other group), an urge for personal freedom and lack of firm profession resulting in a high turnover of jobs.

Part of the group had had sexual intercourse for the first time four years earlier than members of the other group. But both groups had the same ideal conception of girls.

The prisoners generally tended more to improvisation than to a fixed plan for living. On closer examination it was seen time and time again that many of the bad qualities of the criminals were actually produced by the same impulses, such as the urge for freedom, that cause more sterling qualities in many important persons.

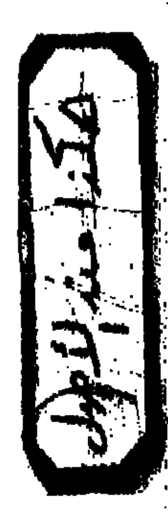
The experts in Saarbrücken were agreed that a judgement can be made today far more easily from the letter of the law and external factors than from the criminal responsibility of the offender.

Criminology has tried to clear up the mysteries surrounding criminal tendencies and wishes to contribute to the change from a moral, normative penal code to a social, humanitarian version. The beginnings of this can be found in Paragraph 65 of the penal code reform of 4 July 1969 which plans the introduction of social therapeutic centres.

At these centres offenders with serious disturbances in their personality, sexual offenders, offenders with a diminished responsibility of guilt and juvenile offenders will be treated less from the point of view of punishment as that of recognition of their own guilt. They will then be able to find their own personality and be rehabilitated into society.

Possible success is being regarded in a sceptical vein. But even if this course succeeds with five per cent it will have been worth it. But, as seemed to be the case in Saarbrücken, criminology does not yet know where the greater chances lie, in research into crime and the development of suitable treatment or in early recognition and prevention.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 14 October 1969)



■ LABOUR RELATIONS

## Unions' congress in a dilemma

Heinz Oskar Vetter, the head of this country's Trades' Union Congress, gave as a wedding present to the new coalition between Social and Free Democrats his word that the trades unions would give the new government a real chance and treat it with goodwill. Undoubtedly the new government will need this good will.

The success or lack of success of the new administration is dependent not least on the unions' attitude to wages policy. But there is also no doubt that on this point the unions too are in a precarious situation which will not make it easy for them to spread goodwill.

It is the unions' function to ensure that a fair part of the economic yield goes into the pocket of the worker. In the last three years their efforts in the field of wages policy have met with little fortune. The result of this was that the workers turned against them in a series of wildcat strikes that were directed against not only the employers but also the basis of the existence of the trades unions themselves.

Nobody can therefore be surprised that the unions have spent weeks considering how to iron out this problem. The Economic Policy Department of the TUC central administration in Düsseldorf has set out the results of these considerations in a kind of manifesto of aims, parts of which came to public attention some days ago and caused a mild sensation.

The starting point for the unions' list of aims is the postulate that it is not only necessary but also possible to raise employees' incomes in the next four years to considerably over the rate of increase of the real and nominal social product. Capital income would be correspondingly curbed. It would have to content itself with one half of the increase planned for workers and other employees.

The trades unions were little edified by the fact that their proposals became known. They attach importance to the statement that it is no more than an internal basis for labour policy that has not yet lead to any firm decisions. This is then some consolation. We must have sympathy for the trades unions and their worries concerning wages policy – but their proposals are untenable.

What is the situation and what can the unions do in the interests of the workers? The economic balance is upset. Trade is hurtling towards the neuralgic point that will soon change it into a period of depression if nothing is done to stop it. Past experience has shown this. It is the task of economic policy to prevent

DIE ZEIT
WOCHENZEITUNG
FÜR POLITIK, WIRTSCHAFT, HANDEL UND KULTUR

this situation. Economic policy must carefully apply the brake on trade but not to the extent that it skids into the ditch.

This is a difficult manoeuvre and can only succeed if all brakes are applied – this includes wages policy. If the unions refuse to cooperate trade will have to be purged and its unpleasant side effects on full employment will be unavoidable as far as can be judged.

In other words the unions can act in two different ways with regard to wages policy. And the results of either course of action will not cause them much joy.

The first possibility is that they decide to support the government's programme of stabilisation. In the present trade situation there is little hope that the price spiral can be halted overnight and everything restored to normal. This means that their demands for the restoration of social symmetry will have no be postponed until 1971 at the earliest.

The other course is that they insist on an immediate restoration of social symmetry and will brook no postponement. They then risk a collapse in trade similar to the crisis in 1966 and 1967. A crisis of this type would not only cause the unions difficulty but would also force a change of government in Bonn. Even the Brandt administration would probably be unable to survive an economic depression that could be felt by the man on the street.

The unions are left with no other alternative than to decide on the lesser of two evils. And there can be no doubt that uppermost in the minds of the workers is the assurance that they will continue to be employed. Only then comes the desire for price stability and wage increases.

At the moment the unions must not do anything that hampers the new government's efforts towards stabilisation and they must do everything that will contribute to a speedy success. Only a coordinated growth in the economy offers a reliable basis to change the present course and pursue an ambitious plan obviously sponsored by the unions, an alteration in the distribution of income tax in favour of employees. Wages policy alone is not sufficient. It must be connected with a policy favouring the accumulation of employees' wealth.

Economists have long been agreed that a wages policy is not a valid method in the redistibution of the social product. In a recent memorandum prepared by a group of experts lead by Professor Bombach of Basle for the European Economic Community Commission in Brussels the reader will find the following remarkable sentence, "Any attempt to improve the distribution of income in favour of the employees by means of a policy of wage expension without raising the amount saved from wages is doomed to failure – it will lead to inflation."

The unions will not be able to avoid changing their ideas on wages policy and tying them more closely with formation of wealth. The trades unions' own policy on the formation of wealth is still awaited.

Horizons opened up by the new coalition government will then also be seen in areas that are at present hidden by mist. The smaller of the two coalition parties, the Free Democrats, have voted the unions' demands for an extension of worker participation and caused them considerable bother. But in the issue of the formation of wealth the Free Democrats are far more consolidated. The unions must be able to obtain something from a SPD/FDP government in this field.

Thus the dilemma facing the unions in wages policy has not yet cleared. But these longterm perspectives could make it somewhat easier for them to play once again a role of which they have grown heartily sick, the role of stabilisers in an unbalanced economy. There is no way of getting around this. The goodwill that the unions claim to have for the new government will place high demands on their understanding and ability to lead.

*Wolfgang Krüger*

(DIE ZEIT, 24 October 1969)

## Fewer miners

The total number of people employed in coal mines in this country decreased in September to 138,600, says a report from the Federal Labour Institute in Nuremberg.

Most pits were able to dispose of their complete output, reducing still further stockpiles. In September stockpiles of coal totalled 5.75 million tons and coke 69,500 tons.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 24 October 1969)

## Employers reject union demands

The Federal Republic Employers' Associations, (BDA), has sharply criticised the Trades Union Congress declaration on the tasks of the new government.

The trades unions' demands that they themselves should determine the limits of their power in fixing wages was an attack, the employers said, on the existing legal order. This was only a backdoor method of gaining an advantage over employer organisations in the factories.

The BDA described the unions' attitude in the question of wealth to be contradictory. On the one hand measures in this field are demanded, on the other side the chairman of the trades union congress has said that the unions would wait until making up their mind.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 23 October 1969)

## Still plenty of jobs

The board of the Federal Labour Exchange Institute at Nuremberg believes that excessive demands will continue to be made on the labour market.

Apart from variations caused by season and weather there is be no strong increase expected in the unemployment figures, the chairman of the board of the Federal Institute, Herr Herbst, said at a press conference in Nuremberg.

The Federal Institute has decided to do more to attract factories into underdeveloped areas. Additional measures are also planned for advice on careers.

The programme for regional development will have 100 million Marks at its disposal. There will be a further 25 million Marks to build houses for those people moving into new areas and the same amount for the construction of homes for foreign workers. The Federal Railways are also financed to the tune of 30 million Marks for their services to Berlin. Only a short while ago the Labour Exchanges Institute gave the Federal Posts 40 million Marks.

The budget of the Federal Institute for 1969 shows a surplus of more than 50 million Marks. In spite of the considerable increase in expenditure caused by the new Labour Promotion Law the board reckons on a surplus of 150 million Marks in 1970. Income will total 3,150 million Marks and expenditure about 3,000 million.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 18 October 1969)

## Workers demand more influence

As trades union leader, Heinz Oskar Vetter, says this country's Trade Union Congress supports the new Federal government wholeheartedly.

At a press conference Vetter stressed that he would expect Willy Brandt's government to progress towards a constitutional welfare state after the lack of decisive progress in social welfare policy during the time of the Grand Coalition of Christian and Social Democrats.

According to Vetter a surprisingly small number of people with no adequate democratis legitimacy control the economy. The unions can no longer acquiesce in this one-sided power structure. Employees must be granted an adequate sahre of the influence in the economy.

*A declaration to the new Federal government*, published by trades union headquarters in Bonn, demands an extension of democratic worker participation in all large concerns, a strengthening of the rights of participation of factory and personnel councils at places of work, a firmer establishment in concerns of the unions' rights of activity and representation and participation of workers in the whole economy.

According to the unions the basic task of wages policy in the next four years must be to remove the inequality in the development of incomes that came to pass during the trade boom against the interests of the workers.

Vetter regretted that the Minister of Economic Affairs, Professor Karl Schiller, had suggested in this context that it was necessary for the unions wage expectations to be subdued somewhat. The chairman says that the Minister should have spoken about this with his social partners before and discussed concerted action.

The economics expert on the board of the Trades Union Congress, Georg Neemann, a member of the Bundestag, said that the size of the wage increases was dependent on the amount that the Mark was revalued. The percentages he had mentioned could well increase.

The trades unions have still not decided their stance on policy concerning the accumulation of wealth. The decision shall be made at the latest by the beginning of December, announced Vetter. All the plans developed up till now had been unsatisfactory, he said. For that reason the congress had not been able to decide for one particular proposal. The important factor at first is that government resumed in the sphere of economic policy.

The price cuts caused by a change in the exchange rate must be passed on to the consumer in full, says the declaration. Losses in farmers' incomes should be compensated for with subsidies. Further rent increases expected within the next twelve months should be opposed by increasing the number of council houses and flats built.

At the head of its welfare demands contained in the declaration the trades unions put the free choice of when to stop work after a person is sixty. In the field of sickness insurance it is recommended that the compulsory insurance limit for employees be removed. And in the view of the trades unions there should be family allowance for the first child as well to compenstate for the costs involved in having a family.

If the Tariff Contract Law is amended the trades unions do not necessarily expect an improvement in the position of organised labour. The law will only forbid the courts intervening in the freedom tariff contract partners have when discussing solutions.

(DIE WELT, 23 October 1969)

■ TRANSPORT

# Hamburg's container transport exhibition




People in Hamburg can feel contented. The second exhibition of container and utility vehicles, held from 21 October, on a site half as large again as last year's has 155 exhibitors from thirteen countries.

This means that once again the Hanseatic city on the Elbe has been chosen as the location for a fair for transport experts from all over the World.

The fact that one third of the exhibitors are from service industries confirms that Hamburg was the right choice for this second fair.

Shipping companies, hauliers, the harbours and last but not least the Federal railways are even more interested than one year ago at showing new methods of transport and haulage in a practical way.

Leading shipping companies in the West obviously rely on container traffic as the marine transport means of the present day. At the moment on wharves in the Federal Republic as well as in other countries container ships of the second generation are being built on domestic and foreign contracts.

Their capacity and speed excel the expectations of experts from as little as two or three years ago. It is already clear that in the foreseeable future a substantial proportion of freight traffic will be carried on container ships. This not only applies to North American traffic which is already operated to a great extent by container ships, but also to east Asia and Australasia.

That alone would be a good enough reason for holding a fair of this nature in a port such as Hamburg. Representatives of industry and public services have visited Hamburg to see demonstrations of the practical application of new methods of sea, air and rail transport. Furthermore in Hamburg's port recently much has been done for the development of container traffic, which can be put on show.

Hamburg's traditional rival as a port, Bremen, is not taking part in the container exhibition this time. It is said that in Bremen people in the shipping industry find the preponderance of exhibits from Hamburg at this fair disturbing. In other words, they obviously fear that work in progress on the Elbe, Hamburg's river, could proved an insuperable challenge to the ports on the Weser.

This idea is not completely true since Bremen itself points out with pride that ports on the Weser are already capable of handling container ships en route to the United States every day. So it is obvious that shippers in these ports are aware that they already have a more favourable position than Hamburg.

They will use this advantage. Not only is the ocean terminal in Bremen being greatly expanded but also there was recently a goodwill tour of the USA by a delegation from Bremen led by the Mayor, Hans Koschnick.

Bremen will take part at an exhibition in Munich in October 1970 entitled "Containerisation '70 – System and Method'.

Otmar Thienes, chairman of the board of Hamburg's Industrial Transport System Company has suggested that there should be container exhibitions in alternate years in Hamburg and Munich.

The reason Munich was suggested was that Thienes considered it an essential opposite pole to Hamburg. He pointed out the importance of Munich as a crossroads to the south and to the Eastern Bloc countries. In fact the Federal Republic as one of the greatest crossroads of Europe has an important role to play in the international stream of container traffic. This was backed up by the Comecon countries which obviously want to bring their container system with that of the West.

A link-up between Hamburg and Munich and an exchange system for the container exhibition would be desirable. The distance between them hampers technical development and greatly affects exhibitors but at the moment the circumstances prevent such a link-up. This is not only because the Federal Republic has difficulty in making arrangements for exhibitions of this kind. In this one particular case personnel difficulties in the company responsible for organising exhibitions in Munich play a significant part.

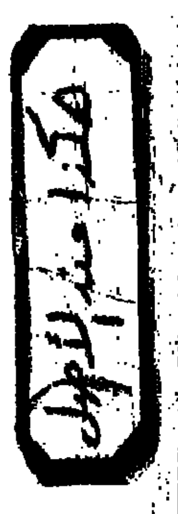
The head of Hamburg's organising company, Hans-Joachim Hoerenz, has stated that his almost exclusive task is to make container traffic look as attractive as possible.

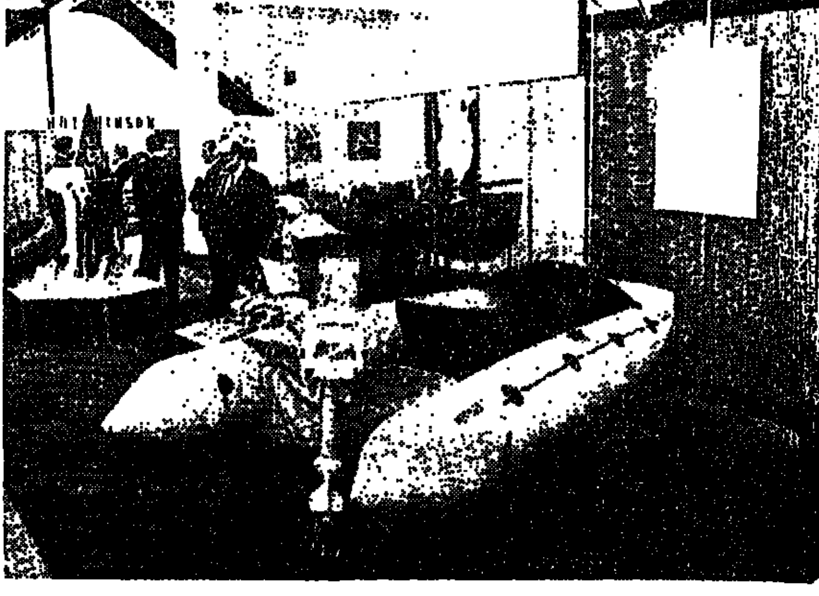
He for one would welcome a link-up with Munich.

There remains only the question why Bremen has not exhibited in Hamburg. The word is out that shippers in Bremen have already booked a stand in Munich.

(DIE WELT, 21 October 1969)







An inflatable boat at Cologne's Spoga

(Photo: Bildstelle der Messe-und Ausstellungs-Ges.m.b.H. Köln)

# Sport as a business makes millions in annual turnover

Never before have the world's best tennis players all been together in one European tournament.

They all came to Cologne for a prize of 50,000 Marks, a tasteful cup and a large expense account. Among the great names were Australians Rod Laver, Roy Emerson, Ken Rosewall and Tony Roche, the American Tony Riessen, the Spaniard Gimeno, Dutchman Tom Okker and Pierre Barthes from France.

It was only possible to book these stars for three days since the tournament was financed by "Spoga 69", the international trade fair for sports equipment, camping needs and garden furniture.

This is the first time that this fair has been coupled with a major sporting event. Tennis enthusiasts had a treat. For this was not just an exhibition match but was hard fought.

Nobody was prepared to throw away the 10,000 Mark first prize. There were fireworks, world class tennis in the truest sense of the expression.

Rod Laver, four times Wimbledon champion, went out in the first round. Could the reason for this have been that shortly beforehand he had become a father? Or was this because a certain brand of racket will bear his name, but only from the beginning of 1970, as an advertisement in the Spoga exhibition hall showed. If only he had already had the Rod Laver racket.

This is advertising, the way top-class sport is turned into big business. The annual turnover on sports equipment in the Federal Republic is 3,000 Million Marks. So it is easy to see just how much the large firms have to use the name of an ace sportsman as a trade mark for their products.

In one exhibition hall there is a monstrous machine called "The athletic power centre". This power machine, a modern torture chamber for top sportsmen is attended by a corpulent count.

It is not his noble title but his sporting successes which make Werner von Moltke, one of the world's greatest exponents of the decathlon worth the fee paid him by the firm he was representing.

Earning money was a far harder business for those amateurs who did programmes of exhibitions gymnastics on a trampoline. And the same applies to little Steppke who clambered around tirelessly on a child's gymnastic apparatus in order to advertise it for potential buyers. In the evening he must have flopped exhausted into bed.

One of the joys is to see footballers of the present day and of the past at work. Fritz Walter, Toni Turek and Wolfgang Fahrian who were in the World Cup winning team of 1954 and internationals until 1962 are doing their share for the sales of footballs and football shoes.

European champion sprinter Heinz Fütterer is advertising spikes and training shoes. Each of them is trying in his own particular sphere to cut a slice of the multi-million Mark cake. Some are working for just a crumb of it.

Manufacturers must of course be inventive. Their inventions range from simple novelties such as a football on an elastic cord which means that without ball boys and a high fence budding strikers can practise cannon ball shots, to fashionable crazes such as skis with an upper surface of crocodile leather or ocelot fur.

The home sports-field is one idea which has a future. The idea is to combat obesity and boredom. Also on show is an automatic ping-pong partner which tirelessly returns the ball over the net as long as it has been played skilfully the move before.

There is a home row-boat in which it is possible to sit with the wife or girl friend

WELT DER ARBEIT Wochenzeitung des Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes

and sweat off weight together. And on top of this all other kinds of apparatus to help slimming.

Not everything on show can strictly speaking be called a sports article. Many objects are more for body training. Also on show are complete sets of golfing equipment from England with refined angling tackle from Canada and hockey sticks from Pakistan.

Sport of the future has already been on exhibition at Spoga. A development of the tartan overlay used on the long-jump track at the Mexico Olympics was on show.

But above all it was possible to see the future of football pitches: Astro-turf. This is a kind of artificial overlay rather like a lawn originating from the USA where it has already proved its worth in baseball stadiums.

But not all these futuristic developments come from the USA. The 'carpeting' on which the tennis professionals played in the Spoga Cup was woven in a factory in the Federal Republic. Professional international champion Henno Nüsslein praised this covering: "It is just like lawn tennis," he said. This was not false praise, nor said just for commercial reasons.

(WELT DER ARBEIT, 24 October 1969)



■ SPORT

# Scotland the brave were unlucky to lose

DIE WELT
UNABHÄNGIGE TAGESZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

Football is an illogical game. On 22 October in the Hamburg Volkspark stadium two teams of equal talent and ability faced each other, provided the crowd with fascinating entertainment – and the better team lost.

This World Cup qualifying tie was a remarkable story of a team twice having to overcome a shock, recovering from the blows a little punch-drunk and then finally ending the bout tired but proud and more important – victorious.

Any tema that wins in these circumstances must certainly not give the unlucky loser the cold shoulder.

The Federal Republic national eleven's trainer-manager Helmut Schön paid his respects to his opposite number on the Scotish side, team manager Bobby Brown.

Said Schön: "Bobby has my sympathies. A draw would have been the fairest result."

The Federal Republic won the tie 3-2 with goals from Fichtel, Müller and Libuda. This victory has ensured their palce in Mexico whatever the outcome of Scotland's remaining match.

After the intense excitement of the night when this country saw its match of the year (it was televised in its entirety) has died down we can ask a few questions about what was good and what was bad about our game in Hamburg.

Now that the aim of reaching Mexico has been achieved, the Scots have returned home and the crowds have dispersed, the thrills of one of the most tense matches in recent years give way to a good deal of criticism.

The important thing is not so much to point the accusing finger at individual players as to weigh up the performance of the team as a whole. It would be futile to harp on points such as goalkeeper Maier's responsibility for letting in two goals he might have stopped.

The decisive question is how well the team blended into one unit, capable of taking on the best teams in the World.

Despite all our efforts and hard work we were the more modest team and our strategy was easier to penetrate.

The team, in fact did not always seem too sure, itself, of the tactics it was supposed to be employing.

How else can one explain the position of Fichtel, who according to Helmut Schön was meant to take on the Scottish number 11 Eddie Gray? Fichtel said: "It took me some time to realise what was expected of me since I was first of all intended to mark Cormack. In the end the job of stopping Cormack went to Haller."

Tactics played an important part as they always do in the modern football game. Whatever tactical talks the two managers had given, it was manifest that the Scots understood Bobby Brown's schemes better than the Federal Republic footballers understood what Helmut Schön planned.

It is difficult to say whether this was more the fault of the players or the managers.

In future, however, it seems imperative that our men are not sent out to play with such a strict tactical set-up, leaving a vacuum on the left-wing.

And selectors must not flinch to drop "names" for the sake of tactics. The men must be found to fill the position and fit the tactics – not vice versa.

Hero worship pervades the game and one runs the risk of being branded "ignorant" by saying that Beckenbauer's beautiful technical skills seemed too slow for the modern game.

It cannot be denied that our two sharpshots, Uwe Seeler and Gerd "Bomber" Müller only once really showed themselves to be a real team. This was in the 61st minute when Seeler nodded on for Müller to hit the Federal Republic into a 2-1 lead.

One big puzzle remains still: just what role did Overath have in the tactical maze?

Now comes the praise. It must not be forgotten that we pulled ourselves out of the quagmire by the hair on two occasions. Johnstone's third minute goal threatened to knock the stuffing out of us, but we held firm until, just before half time, the equaliser came.

Then just as the Federal Republic had taken the lead and looked like gaining control a simple headed goal by Gilzean put Scotland on level terms and it was anybody's match.

Praise indeed to Libuda who was always a promising forward and was rewarded with a chance for glory late in the game. A perfect through pass left him with a clear run for goal and only Herriot to beat. The Birmingham City keeper hesitated to come out making the winning shot all the easier for Libuda.

Praise to Helmut Schön and his last minute flash of inspiration in choosing Libuda.

Now for Mexico!

On 31 May 1970 the World Cup begins in Mexico. This country's team will undergo a few changes before then.

Several trial matches are planned. One against Spain has already been fixed for 11 February.

On 10 January the draw will be made for the pairings in the first round proper. Sadly one team will be missing – the brave Scots of Bobby Brown.

(DIE WELT, 24 October 1969)



Excitement after Libuda (left) boots in the winning (3-2) goal. Gerd Müller is on the right.

(Photo: Nordbild)

# Schön's greatest success sinks the Scots

The end justified the means and the eventual success is sufficient to silence the critics.

It might have been a different story if the Scots, a great side if their fouls are forgotten, had held the national eleven of the Federal Republic to a draw or even beaten them, which seemed likely at one stage.

But these alternatives are forgotten now that Helmut Schön's boys have fought through to secure a place in Mexico.

Schön now has an incredible record of firsts since he took over the team from Sepp Herberger. In 1965: victory over Sweden in Stockholm for the first time in 44 years and a passage into the last sixteen for the 1966 World Cup.

In 1966: the first victory against the Soviet Union, which had beaten this country twice under Herberger's managership.

In 1968: the first victory against England, avenging that World Cup Final defeat, plus the first victory over Brazil.

Now has come this first ever victory over Scotland after three defeats and three draws.

Luck? A masterpeice of strategy and psychology? If anyone in Hamburg was looking for some cunning scheme he should have had the sense to stop looking as soon as Jimmy Johnstone cracked in a third minute goal for the Scots.

The gaping hole on the left flank could have been disastrous. Libuda showed just how much a born right-winger can trouble a defence.

It was not long before the cries of "Uwe, Uwe!" from Hamburg SV fans turned to a prolonged chant of "Li-bu-da!"

Libuda certainly can not be blamed for the way players grouped and bunched in the middle.

Uwe Seeler's fate (which he shares with all top class attackers) was to be constantly shadowed and marked by two defenders. But his task was made easier by the fact that the Scottish defenders McNeill and McKinnon restricted themselves to man-to-man marking.

This left a free man in the right-outside-back position. Greig was almost always without a man on him and proved to be a constant source of danger.

Maier, who had shown himself to be World class in St. Etienne was a big disappointment. Apart from being partly to blame for Scotland's two goals he was beaten on two other occasions and the side was saved by the crossbar.

Likewise Beckenbauer who boosted his reputation in Sofia and Brazil. He failed to convince. He even played poorly on the occasions when he tried to find his team-mate Müller.

Müller's goals have earned the national team a trip to Mexico. Seeler's header helped Müller to his goal in Hamburg.

Both of these players could have lived up to their reputations if they had received more support from mid-field. Beckenbauer failed because of poor approach work. What happened to Overath's passes in the first half? Only in the second 45 minutes did he do his job.

Haller did not perform so well as in Glasgow. But could much more have been expected from our players in Hamburg? It was rather burdensome for the team to have to try to excel, when for so long tactics had not been clearly outlined.

It is perfectly clear who will be travelling to Mexico in search of the Jules Rimet trophy. The sad part is that one team had to lose and that that team was as talented as the Scottish outfit we saw at the Volkspark stadium.

(Hannoversche Presse, 24 October 1969)

# National eleven certain for Mexico

Hamburger Abendblatt

Eighty nail-biting minutes passed for the over 70,000 spectators in Hamburg's Volkspark Stadium before 27 year-old Reinhard Libuda from Gelsenkirchen rapped in the winning goal which takes the Federal Republic national football team to Mexico and sets Scotland waiting impatiently for 1974!

It was a great victory for this country.

The man who brought us a place in the final sixteen for the World Cup next year should be the one to tell the story. Said Libuda: "Before the game I felt like running as far away as possible. I was sick with worry."

Libuda must be glad he did not make such a drastic decision, for ten minutes before the game ended he shot the Federal Republic into a 3-2 lead, which closed the scoring. The "worried" man was so delighted he turned cartwheels on Hamburg's sacred turf!

It was six years ago that Libuda first played for this country and in those six years he has earned hismelf a reputation as our best outside-right.

But he has always been plagued with nervous trouble and has occasionally had to stay behind when the internationals went on tour.

"Twelve times I had been honoured with a place in the team and twelve times I let the side down." Despite doubters who called Libuda's selection a surprise and despite the fact that he is superstitious, international number thirteen was a success for the star from FC Schalke 04.

Libuda does not take all the credit for helping the 1966 losing finalists to Mexico and a chance to leap the final hurdle and lift the Jules Rimet trohpy. Modestly he says: "The fans helped a lot. The Hamburg crowd was marvellous. Our supporters gave me great support right from the kick off."

So, despite the fact that the Scots gained an early lead with a goal from Johnstone, which the Federal Republic could only equalise late in the first half, and despite Scotland's gallant fight-back from 1 - 2 down with an equaliser from Gilzean, this country's national eleven marches into Mexico – thanks to a talent named Libuda.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 23 October 1969)